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The reality of

War

The search for

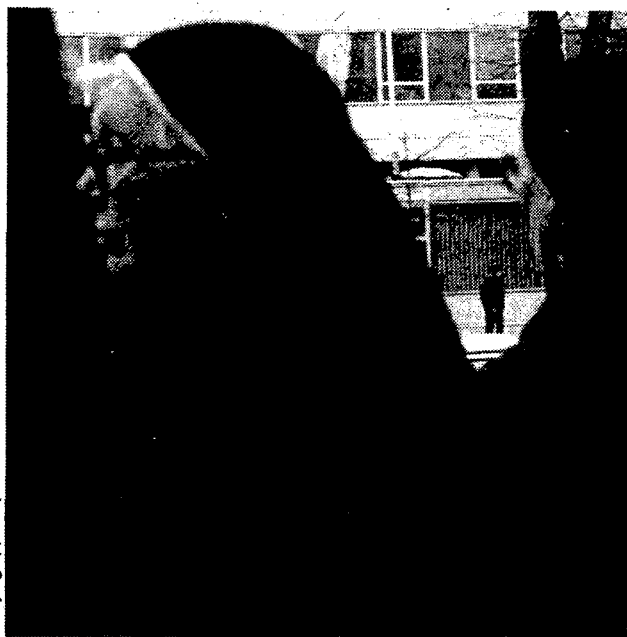
Peace

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THE INSIDE STORY



Sisters are concerned that they are cheaper to hire than laity and are demanding higher wages.

American nuns battle for equality

By Gregory Bergman

OAKLAND, CA

The American Catholic Church—fast becoming an outspoken peace church—is facing a conflict in its own house over the long-neglected “woman question.” For centuries the Church has discriminated against women with impunity, all the while using religious sisters, or nuns, as cheap workers. But the women’s movement of the past decade has slowly entered the cloister, just as traditional nuns have entered the secular world since Vatican Council II in 1965. The result is a threatened servants’ revolt, as American nuns join their secular sisters in the battle for equality.

“Sisters should begin asking themselves, ‘If I do this work for slave wages, am I perpetuating a system that should be changed?’” says Sister Anne Brotherton, director of field studies for theology students on Berkeley’s “chapel hill.” “Suppose we nuns were not to show up for work on Monday morning?” she asks. “What would happen to the work of the Church?”

Brotherton, who is a board member of the National Coalition of American Nuns (NCAN), has been a nun for 32 years. According to her, women are the “backbone” of the functioning church but lack effective power at all levels of the hierarchy and seldom receive a decent wage. “Sisters may sit on a few boards and committees,” she comments, “but the bottom line, the final word, comes from the male clergy: Father knows best.”

Traditionally, people have thought of nuns as self-sacrificing, devoted souls. But this is a stereotype that is as out of date as the habits nuns used to wear. Today, many nuns live outside the convent, in groups of three or four in houses or apartments. They often work as teachers, legislative lobbyists, counselors and office or hospital workers. The Catholic quarterly *Cross Currents* reports that 88 percent of all American nuns have college degrees, and 67 percent have some post-graduate education. This training has enabled them to explore new phases of ministry. An estimated one-third are currently engaged in some type of social action. And education has heightened their militancy about something that concerns every working woman: equal pay for equal work.

Beyond handmaidens.

Brotherton is a case in point. Born in Augusta, Ga., where Catholics were less than 2 percent of the population, she attended parochial schools and entered the Order of Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet in 1950. She then taught in the community’s primary and secondary schools, also studying for a bachelor’s degree, which

she received after 12 years in 1962.

Then came Vatican II and Church renewal. Her order sent her to university full-time, a “heavenly” improvement over the previous correspondence courses, she says. In 1972 she received a PhD in sociology from Fordham University, then taught at City University of New York.

Next, desiring to be near her family in Georgia, she became director of nonviolence education at the Martin Luther King Center for Social Change in Atlanta, where she stayed until 1978. She left her order seven years ago to join a new group of women religious, Sisters for Christian Community, because it has a more collegial structure and does not come under the rules of the Vatican’s canon law.

According to Brotherton, some nuns don’t want to acknowledge their oppression. “They find it easier to insulate themselves from their own suffering,” she told some 400 Catholic women at a recent conference in Berkeley. “As long as everyone is nice to them, they don’t want to see the larger structure in which they are handmaidens—not co-workers or partners.”

Most of Brotherton’s criticism, however, is directed at the Church hierarchy. Older celibate men, she notes, decided the Church position on birth control and “give great emphasis to the unborn while ignoring the legalized killing in prison executions and wars.”

These attitudes are not simply her own. On April 14 NCAN announced its opposition to laws banning abortion and the proposed constitutional amendment making them permissible at the state level (*In These Times*, June 16). The Pro-Life Action League has already asked the Pope to discipline NCAN for its stand.

“The male clergy needs to be jolted,” Brotherton says. “In that Church we love so much, we need to take on a role of loving critics—become institutional nuisances at times in order to change and humanize the Church.”

Sister Elise Marie Lawlor, an older nun in Oakland’s Holy Name Order, has participated in the sweeping changes since the liberalizations of 1965. “I remember a prediction long ago: ‘Some day you will look like butterflies.’ And indeed we now dress in many colors. But we are still the slave workers of the Church.”

Lawlor now works full-time on social issues. She recently picketed an Oakland military center to protest the training of Salvadoran military personnel. She says the officers “were sure scared when we walked in and set up our picket line.”

How are nuns promoting change within the Church? In San Francisco, a Sisters’ Council supported a nun who was abruptly dismissed as a parochial school principal when she challenged the local pastor. The sisters’ action forced the pastor to pay the balance of her contract. In the end, says Council president Marie Jeanne Gaillac, he paid only until the nun got another job. Even so, she says, it represented a great change from the past “when the pastor was never wrong, when he was absolute in his rightness.”

Overall, says Gaillac, sisters are concerned that “they are cheaper to hire than laity.” Their salary is often lower because they are provided with housing, meals and other benefits. But even when paid strictly in cash, nuns’ salaries as parochial school teachers, for example, are generally lower than that of lay persons or priests in the same position.

For all the nuns’ training and education, “It is easier for a sister to be hired as a secretary for a priest than for the better job of minister to the sick,” says Gaillac. The clergy can’t imagine women doing the same work they

do, she says. Yet when it comes time to hire secretarial or bookkeeping help, they look at costs and hire a nun. Moreover, the sister may be chosen for the secretarial job simply because she is cheaper than a lay person.

Gaillac says that low wages “keep sisters from establishing their own works and using their own gifts.” According to Gaillac, this situation will not let up until groups such as the Sisters’ Council and the National Assembly of Religious Women pressure for change.

Gaillac also has doubts about the Church’s general position on women. “Sadly, the institutional Church is not listening to the people on birth control and divorce issues,” she says. “Sisters generally feel the same as the laity regarding the availability of sacraments to the divorced and remarried.” And she thinks it is a mistake for the church to “take an absolute position on abortion.... We have not finished the process of understanding what life is, what a human is, what death is, and in the future the Church could find itself reversing its position, as it did with Galileo, Darwin and scripture studies.”

Equal consideration.

Presentation Sister Marilyn Medau of Oakland sees a gain in Oakland bishop John Cummis’ recent *Pastoral Statement on Women in Ministry*, which says pastors and Catholic agency administrators must actively recruit women for “decision-making bodies and give equal consideration to both women and men when staff vacancies occur.”

Though Gaillac feels that it is a step in the right direction, she points out that this directive is only good to the degree that it is translated into action. Only then will nuns be liberated from the current Church strictures.

Nuns’ liberation depends on the general level of women’s liberation in the Church and in American society, according to Sister Mary O’Keefe, former national coordinator of the National Association of Women Religious (NAWR), the largest nuns’ organization. To that end, she says, NAWR members work in peace and justice campaigns, and in NAWR’s educational work there is an emphasis on showing the relationship between classism, sexism and racism. NAWR is now including lay women in its membership and is currently changing its name to the National Association of Religious Women in order to link up with all women’s fight for equal rights.

O’Keefe cites as a sign of progress the recent U.S. bishops’ committee report that recommended “more Church ministries, perhaps even the position of deacon, be open to women.” The bishops committee, which had been in a dialogue with representatives of the Women’s Ordination Conference, found that a “sexist attitude... is pervasive among members of the Church and its leadership.” It called for review of the Vatican’s 1976 declaration against women’s ordination to the priesthood “in the light of the insights of modern anthropology... and the practice and experience of women ministering in our American culture.”

All of the nuns interviewed believed, along with Brotherton, that the nuns’ liberation “is absolutely here to stay. There is no going back.” But, she says, women’s liberation in the Church “does not mean separation or getting our slice of the pie, but looks toward a new kind of community where men and women are working together truly as equals.” According to Medau, “a firm resolve among nuns will continue. This is a part of the whole women’s liberation question.”

Gregory Bergman is a veteran journalist who has written for *Christian Century*, *Pacific News Service* and *WAY of St. Francis*.

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IN THESE TIMES

Israel's blitz may backfire

By David Mandel

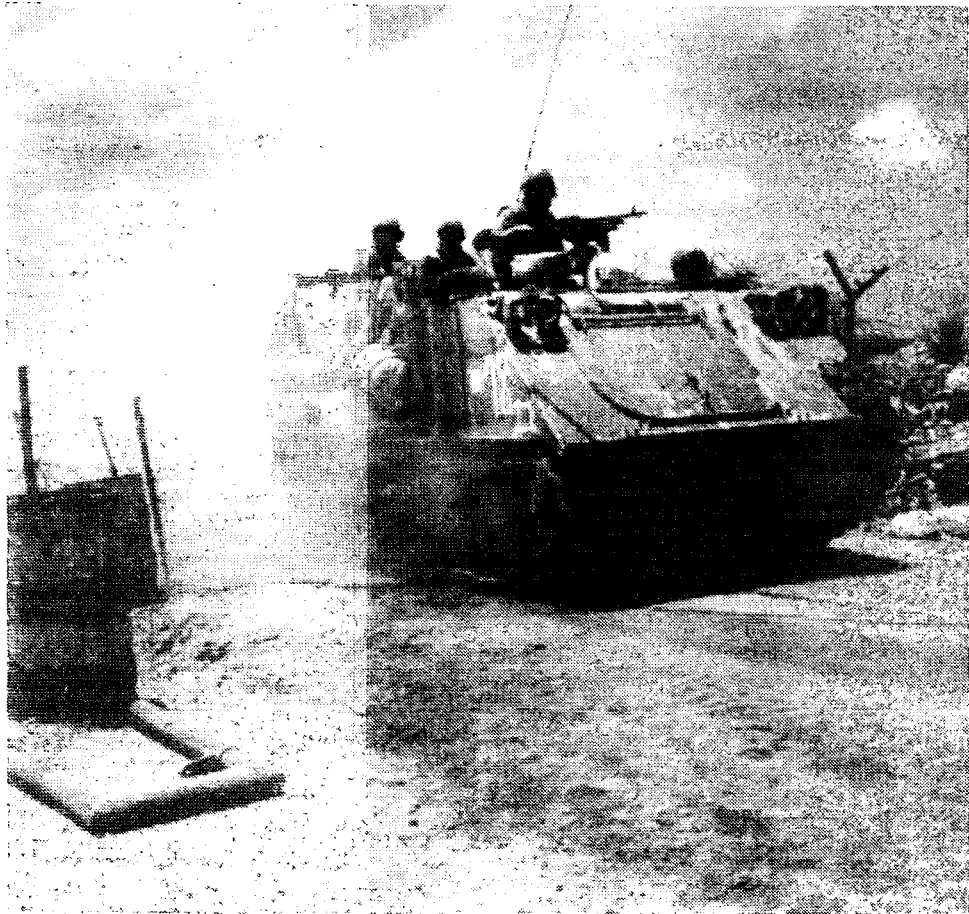
JERUSALEM, JUNE 14

FOR THE ISRAELIS OPPOSED TO their government's massive invasion of Lebanon, it has been a paradoxical war. On the one hand, unprecedented doubts about the political and military wisdom of such a move were widely and publicly expressed by broad sectors of the population both before and during the fighting.

But at the same time, nothing breeds popularity like success. And while the critics are far from silenced, Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Defense Minister Ariel Sharon are managing to call most of the military, diplomatic and, so far, political shots.

Predicting after the June 11 cease-fire with Syria that the war would cost Israel \$600-\$700 million (estimates are now double that amount), a hawkish Labor Party parliament member disarmingly observed that, before the fact, most of the country would have opposed invading Lebanon. This, despite a well-orchestrated campaign by official and pro-government media detailing alleged violations by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) of a cease-fire mediated in July 1981, which ended with a last round of large-scale air raids on Palestinian concentrations in Lebanon and

An Israeli armored personnel carrier blasts through the border on June 6 in the invasion of south Lebanon.



mutual shelling across Israel's northern border.

The PLO argued all along that the truce applied only to attacks across that border, which was almost totally quiet for nine months. The PLO also disavowed and even condemned attacks on Israeli diplomats abroad, like that on June 4 in London, apparently perpetrated by a fringe group that also targeted PLO representatives. But the incident provided an excuse for Israeli jets to bomb Beirut and consequently set off the counter-shelling and the invasion that followed.

More like 1967 than the 1973 surprise, Israelis, Palestinians and the rest of the world had ample warning that a war was coming. Air raids over the last two months seemed aimed at goading the PLO to Syria into confrontation, and "hypothetical" war aims were part of public debate. Several days before the operation, Army chief-of-staff Rafael Eitan declared that there was a "military solution to the Palestinian problem," and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir

issued a well-publicized call for the PLO's "elimination."

But unlike 1967, there was no atmosphere of siege, no feeling that Israel's existence was under dire threat. Residents of northern border towns, the official beneficiaries of "Operation Peace for Galilee," generally opposed initiating hostilities since, to them, the cease-fire was far preferable to the fighting of a year ago. Early this April, when Begin's government seemed on the verge of acting, opposition in the cabinet itself was also bolstered by the Labor Party's strong stand against a military initiative.

After the June 5 cabinet meeting, several ministers remained opposed to an invasion, according to press reports, and subsequent stories after the fighting broke out indicated growing impatience with Sharon's evasiveness about the war's aims, as well as objections to some that were becoming self-evident. The Labor Party, though it characteristically supported the government, did not hesitate to warn against provoking Syria or advancing to Beirut (though after most of the city was taken, Labor did not criticize what had been done; instead, they opposed "further attacks").

Public opposition to the war has been limited to the political fringe. But still its very existence is striking, compared to the silence that prevailed during previous wars. A major June 5 demonstration in Tel Aviv by several thousand sup-

of late—broke discipline and abstained while most of Labor voted with the government against a Communist-sponsored no-confidence motion.

Yet, unusual as the phenomenon of wartime dissent was, the debates at first seemed inconsequential to most Israelis, who were generally pleased by early reports of swift ground advances, the downing of dozens of Syrian MIGs and "expulsion of the terrorists from southern Lebanon."

Long-term skepticism.

After the fact, many northern border dwellers said they were gratified that PLO cannons and rocket launchers were pushed back, but appeared skeptical about the long-term outcome. In a typical wartime development, most of the many strikes and labor disputes that had broken out in the weeks before were settled quickly or postponed.

Barring absolute disaster, a government generally gains popularity during wartime. In this case, it could not have been better timed for Begin. Negotiations with several small parties on padding the fragile coalition were bogged down—now they will probably be successful. The Labor Alignment's left wing, upset over the co-opting of two Likud defectors, continued to insure opposition disunity by pointedly not supporting the war.

The Begin government has continued its amazingly successful diplomatic maneuvering as well. In May, Zaire became the first black African state to resume diplomatic ties with Israel since the 1967 and 1973 wars. And there were visits by the Egyptian and several West European foreign ministers.

Among the Arabs, only Syria helped defend the PLO, and this came only after some delay. Criticism by Egypt has been soft-spoken so far.

Most impressive, however, was the tacit, and sometimes explicit, U.S. support for the invasion. There is no official green light from Washington, but in April and May, American pressure clearly helped hold back Begin and Sharon, so many observers feel that there must have been a change. Perhaps the Reagan-Haig administration feels that following the conclusion of Israel's withdrawal from Egypt and given Syria's isolation for its



A cloud of smoke rises over Damour on June 5 as Israeli jets bombard suspected Palestinian targets.

support of Iran in the Gulf war, it is an opportune time for greater American involvement in settling the festering Lebanese/Palestinian situations. This could mean the dispatch of an "international" force, under de facto U.S. control, to replace the Israelis in the southern half of Lebanon. With such leverage, Syria and the PLO presumably could be compelled to give up their respective operations in Lebanon, and conservative rule could be restored.

As Israel's army advanced, there was
Continued on page 10

An open letter to American Jews

By Irene L. Gendzier

On June 11, the *New York Times* reports that Jewish leaders met with Vice-President George Bush and expressed to him the "depth of feeling in the Jewish community in support of Israeli actions in Lebanon."

On June 14, some Jews who are not among the "leaders" call to express different views. A rabbi telephones me to express his anguish at what is being done in the name of Israeli survival. "This is a Jewish state?" he asks. Members of a fledgling Jewish organization are in touch to learn what they can do to express their concern with Israeli policies. A housewife with no organizational ties but memories of Europe in World War II calls to utter a cry of anguish at the isolation of those like her who would like to say "no."

On June 17, the *London Times* reports the following in a story by Robert Fisk from Baabda. A young Israeli soldier says to the reporter, "Listen, I know you are tape recording this, but personally I would like to see them all dead. I would like to see all the Pales-

tinians dead because they are a sickness wherever they go." In the same article, the reporter asks, "But was that not what Hitler had once said about the Jews?" "It is," he replied. "But there is a slight difference because the Palestinians receive help and they have so many countries around here that are ready to support them and to help them."

On June 17, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin meets with officials of American Jewish organizations to inform them of Israel's objectives in Lebanon. He denies that Israel "covets" Lebanese territory, claiming the invasion was provoked by the attempted assassination of the Israeli ambassador in London the previous week. An analogy is made with Czechoslovakia in 1938. "If anybody tries to use pressure against us, Israel is going to behave as the Czechs should have behaved in 1938 but didn't," he said. There are 350 people present, representing 34 secular and religious Jewish organizations in the U.S. They applaud when Begin tells them that Israel had to react to the shelling of northern Israel.

On June 18, I receive info.

Continued on

IN SHORT

Duck and copy

If President Reagan's new civil defense program sounds familiar to you, maybe you've been reading too many secret documents. The program was lifted—word-for-word, in some places—from a 1978 directive issued by Jimmy Carter. The directive was classified at the time.

Such "political plagiarism shows not only the bipartisan insanity of civil defense," said the Citizens Party's Barry Commoner, "but that the American people cannot count on either the Republicans or the Democrats to stop the drift toward nuclear holocaust." Commoner announced Reagan's copycat policy at the outset of a new Citizens Party national campaign. The campaign calls for cities to withdraw from the civil defense program, which stresses evacuation and depends on local authorities' actions to work, and it urges municipalities to educate residents on the futility of civil defense in the case of nuclear attack. Cities are presently being asked by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) to develop evacuation plans and to distribute FEMA's literature. Several cities have already refused to cooperate with FEMA, including Philadelphia and New York.

Exporting Reaganomics

Having done so well at home, the Reagan administration is feverishly working to export its more-guns-no-butter policy abroad, particularly to Latin America, according to a recently released report by the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA). The report says the thrust of U.S. foreign aid to Latin American countries reflects "a dramatic change in focus from basic human needs and human rights to geopolitical security needs." From fiscal year 1980 to 1981, the Reagan administration increased military assistance to Latin America by 279 percent. A 300 percent increase has been requested for fiscal year 1983, bringing the total military aid to \$179.9 million.

In March the administration, taking advantage of a special fund created by Congress to "encourage increased adherence to civil and political rights," used \$22,000 to send international observers from such repressive regimes as Chile, Argentina and the Philippines to monitor elections in El Salvador. A noble gesture on Reagan's part after sending \$35 million in military aid in 1981 and an expected \$116 million in 1982 to a Salvadoran military establishment that practices its own type of monitoring.

Taking it to the ballot

Speaking to the NAACP convention in Boston, Glenn Watts, president of the 650,000-member Communications Workers of America (CWA) recently urged civil rights groups to join organized labor in making this year's congressional elections a "referendum on Reaganomics."

"Ronald Reagan refuses to budget from his insensitive, trickle-down economic game plan," Watts said. "Given this attitude, it is our duty to change the direction of government policy." Calling last year's Solidarity Day march the beginning of a renewed period of cooperation between the labor movement and the civil rights movement, Watts went on to say that "we will see the results of this new sense of unity in this year's elections."

Watts also charged at the June convention that the Reagan administration views civil rights and social issues as mere afterthoughts at best. "The drive for affirmative action has lost some of its zeal in recent years," Watts said. "But when Black America languishes in an economic depression, it is sheer arrogance to assert that 'we've done the job' and caustically ask 'what else is there to do?'"

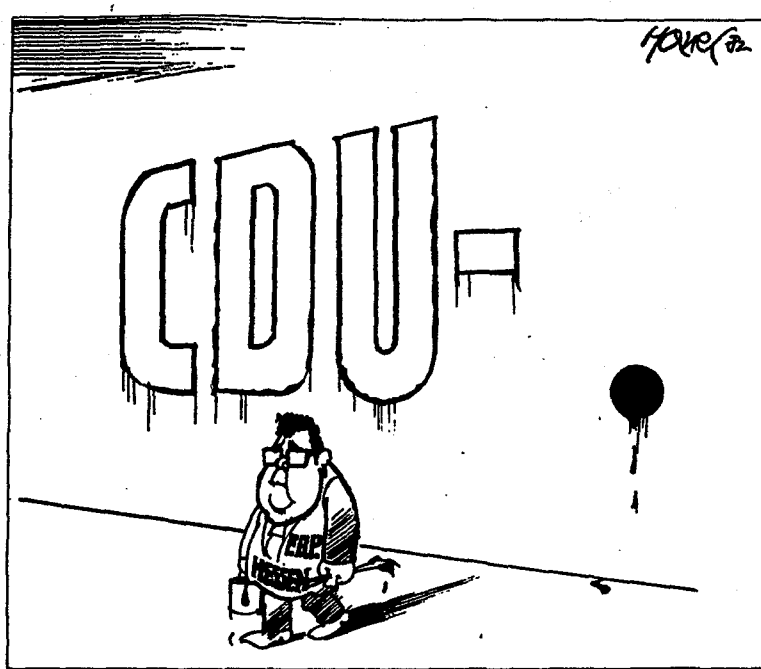
Let them read newsletters

Members of Congress have historically shared a special privilege with the blind and the handicapped. They can send out their business mail for free, just as libraries can send out those hefty books in braille postage-free to the blind. But the way budget-balancers in the House of Representatives see it, somebody's got to tighten their belt, and it's not going to be members of Congress. They just approved a budget that includes a provision eliminating \$713 million in subsidies for nonprofit postal rates and postage-free provisions for the blind and otherwise handicapped. (Some funds will probably be restored in House-Senate negotiations.)

The provision was passed almost without comment. Rep. William Coyne (D-Penn.), however, called the provision "cruel" and wondered how much discussion there would have been if the Representatives' privileges had been cut. "Few members of this legislative body are averse to using cost-free frank mail," he said. Rep. William D. Ford (D-Mich.), who chairs the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, also opposed the cut, pointing out that "historically we have helped certain people pay their postal bills not as a special favor to them but in furtherance of the national good."

Maybe the legislators will send their affected constituents a special mailing to explain their logic. After all, it won't cost them anything.

—Nina Berman and Pat Aufderheide



Greens grow in Hamburg

PARIS—The German Social Democratic Party's (SPD) fall from power picked up momentum with its dismal showing in the June 6 elections in Hamburg, the traditional "capital" of German social democracy. From over half the vote, the SPD fell to an historic low of 42.8 percent, leaving the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) top party for the first time with 43.2 percent. Even worse from the SPD politicians' point of view, the lion's share of the remaining vote was mopped up not by the Free Democratic Party (FDP), a possible crutch to keep the SPD in power (as it is doing in the federal government in Bonn), but by the Greens.

The liberals of the FDP have been coy about if and when they will switch alliances, dump the

SPD and form a new governing coalition with the CDU. This coyness apparently did them no good in Hamburg. With only 4.8 percent of the vote, the FDP stayed below the 5 percent minimum needed to win seats. Instead, the ecological Green Party, with 7.7 percent of the vote enters the Hamburg parliament as the third party, with nine seats, putting it in the position of a highly unwelcome mediator between the CDU with 56 and the SPD with 55. The Greens have now won representation in five West German Lander and are on their way to replacing the liberals nationally as number three.

Although amounting to only a small percentage of the vote, this shift could change the political game in West Germany considerably. The FDP is an element of pro-NATO, pro-American stability—the very epitome of the political order established by the Anglo-American occupation forces that are

closer to their own political ideal than the Catholic CDU.

The Greens, on the contrary, are a fresh and unpredictable product of a new "post-materialist" generation of Germans who have no use for the old games and old values. They pull their support from all economic groups but mostly from the young, the educated and women. Their influence has increased with the rise of the nuclear disarmament movement which they helped to build. Since so far their aspiration is not to take power so much as to question and limit it, the other parties cannot easily imagine how to deal with them.

—Diana Johnstone

AMA docs true to form

CHICAGO—Looking very much as usual—white, male and aging—the House of Delegates of the American Medical Association (AMA) held its annual meeting in Chicago June 13-17. Among the 303 delegates, there were only two women, four identifiable blacks and three or four Orientals and Hispanics. Overall membership, particularly of younger doctors, has declined.

Dr. Frank J. Jirka Jr., a Chicago suburban urologist and new president-elect of the AMA, speculated that the decline is due to the increased interest by physicians in various specialty societies. Others locate the source of the problem in the AMA itself—its traditionally conservative policies and growing self-interest on the part of its members.

For example, last year the House of Delegates turned back

On June 5, about 200,000 people turned out in Italy to march for peace. Despite President Reagan's announcement on the eve of his June European tour of future arms limitation talks with the Soviet Union, the participating peace organizations and political parties refused to back down from the peace issue, claiming that this type of mass demonstration is becoming increasingly important since the talks have not yet begun and the Italian government has not yet halted construction of a military base in Comiso.



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efforts by student and resident delegates to endorse the ERA. The house also refused to go on record opposing handguns, even though last year sentiment was strong for handgun control. A physician who sells handguns successfully moved to table the motion. And in a step backwards, the AMA called for the withdrawal of funding for a project aimed at improving health care in the nation's penitentiaries.

At this year's meeting, the AMA—despite the growth of a strong, mass-based disarmament movement and the emergence of medical groups like Physicians for Social Responsibility—stuck to its conservative posture and refused to take a political stand on the question of nuclear war.

The house adopted a report of the AMA Board of Trustees saying that the AMA "is not participating in the political issues involved in national defense and the politics of nuclear war."

The delegates did, however, grant time to Air Force Lt. Gen. Paul W. Myers, M.D., who made a blatantly political speech decrying the "Soviet threat," saying, "Satisfactory negotiations with a formidable adversary can only happen when you are strong. We must do more than just try to counterbalance menaces that stare us in the face."

Joseph Boyle, M.D., chairman of the Board of Trustees, recently said that "The major activity of the AMA is to promote the science and art of medicine." He made that statement at the opening of the AMA's new 12-story, \$12.5 million office building in Washington, D.C., which houses \$1 million in commissioned art work and two floors of AMA lobbyists enthusiastically working to defeat any form of socialized medicine.

With all that money for art and science, the AMA, because of expense, recently discarded regional medical seminars designed to bring updated information to doctors and ceased publication of some scientific journals while allowing the quality of others to decline.

—Charles-Gene McDaniel

Missiles and the Mafia

ROME—On his visit to Rome, Ronald Reagan heard an unexpectedly sharp condemnation of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon from his host, President Sandro Pertini. After accusing Begin's government of applying "barbarous tribal law against a whole people," Pertini said that Israel had its own homeland and should respect the homelands of others. Reagan changed the subject and started praising Italy for taking on greater responsibility in NATO.

This snatch of dialogue illustrates how, if the NATO machine is turning inexorably, the alliance's mental gears do not mesh. A major part of the new responsibility that Italy is taking on in NATO has to do with what Caspar Weinberger calls "defending Alliance interests outside the NATO treaty boundaries"—notably in the vaguely

vast region that the Pentagon now labels "Southwest Asia" and that seems to include the Middle East. Faster than any other NATO ally, Italy is letting itself be dragged into plans to enable Rapid Deployment Forces to intervene in North Africa, the Arab world and even Iran. In particular, the biggest NATO base in Europe is to be built at Comiso in Sicily, for forces pointing not so much East as South.

Yet Italian public opinion sees no need for armed "defense of Alliance interests outside the NATO treaty boundaries," is unlikely to agree with U.S. policy in the Middle East and is overwhelmingly opposed to war in general and to war by advanced Northern countries against the less developed South in particular. The general feeling here is that the government has gone along with the U.S. plan to build a big NATO base because there is money in it. In this case, much of the money will go to the Mafia, which, in turn, will help protect the base from a hostile public.

Gangsterism has recently turned uglier and more murderous in Southern Italy. Last April 30, top Communist leader Pio La Torre, who had recently stepped up his crusade against the Mafia, was gunned down in a Palermo side street. The next day, he was to have led a big May Day protest against construction of the Comiso nuclear missile base. At 54, he was a veteran foe of the Mafia and the leading member of the Italian parliamentary commission investigating Mafia activities.

Before he was assassinated, La Torre had been warning that the NATO base would make Sicily a crossroads for Mafia dealing, espionage and crime, bringing massive infiltration of foreign agents. He had also said that parliamentary investigation had revealed that Italo-American Mafia banker Michael Sindona had been in Palermo around the time certain Mafia adversaries were assassinated, and that the Sicilian-American gangsters accompanying Sindona had claimed they were supposed to carry out some sort of "anti-communist political mission."

La Torre had then plunged into building a broad peace movement that is well on its way to reaching the goal of one million signatures collected in Sicily alone petitioning the Italian government to suspend construction of the Comiso base. (The next step will be a nationwide mobilization against the base throughout Italy.)

La Torre's successor as Italian Communist Party regional leader in Sicily, Luigi Colajanni, told *In These Times* that "the peace movement has aroused broad opposition to the [Comiso] base, and this does not please the secret services and certain, shall we say, reactionary circles—Italian and international. We cannot rule out the possibility that the Mafia [may have] killed La Torre also—not solely, but also—to silence one of the main leaders of the peace movement."

—Diana Johnstone

Briefing: Labor roundup



In June the Supreme Court ruled against Steelworkers dissident Ed Sadlowski.

After Ed Sadlowski lost his race in 1977 for president of the Steelworkers union—relying heavily on outside liberal donations to combat the strong staff support for Lloyd McBride—the union voted to prohibit candidates from accepting money from anyone outside the union. Sadlowski successfully challenged the rule in court, but in June the Supreme Court ruled that "reasonable" restrictions on campaigns within unions do not violate a candidate's free speech.

Herman Benson of the Association for Union Democracy argues that the rationale adopted by the 5-to-4 majority undercuts the intention of the Landrum-Griffin act to guarantee free speech in unions. He expects other unions to enact rules, such as requiring publication of donors' names, that would intimidate potential supporters of dissidents, especially in unions like the building trades, where a member could lose work for being in the opposition.

"They say you have to get money from members, but to get money you have to be a credible candidate, and how do you appeal to members if you don't have the money to travel?" Benson asks.

Over the long run, he expects other court cases may restrict the implications of the Supreme Court ruling. Some union reformers, including

Sadlowski attorney Joseph Rauh, are now advocating new legislation to protect union democracy and, among other things, restrict staff influence.

Ironically, in the Mineworkers (UMW) union, where outside money first played a major role in support of Miners for Democracy, the challenger, Richard Trumka, is criticizing incumbent Sam Church for taking money from other non-UMW union officials, lobbyists and politicians. Trumka says he will support restrictions on campaign contributions.

Steelworkers local presidents voted 263-79 on June 14 to permit President McBride to begin discussing problems of the steel industry with the companies. Despite reported strong sentiment against concessions at the meeting, McBride is expected to return in a few weeks to report industry demands for reopening the contract a year early.

In the auto industry, leaders of a number of large General Motors locals are attempting to organize a battle against further concessions in their local contracts. In some cases, GM has unilaterally changed work rules—such as eliminating the rotating personal relief system in favor of a mass break—and then negotiated. Local leaders

report that the international union simply has advised filing grievances.

Angry local officials complain that GM is playing one local against another as well as against foreign competition. The relief changes, they say, not only force as many as several thousand workers to line up at the same time for rest rooms or coffee machines but also eliminate as much as 10 percent of the jobs in many plants by axing relief workers.

Often workers make concessions to save their jobs only to suffer plant closings later. Recently a U.S. district court judge ruled that in such circumstances workers may be able to collect damages for breach of contract. The decision came in a suit filed by the Electrical workers (IUE) against Singer Co. of Elizabeth, New Jersey.

Last year the 600 workers at the plant that once employed over 9,000 agreed to concessions in exchange for a company promise to modernize the plant and pursue defense contracts. But a few months later management stopped looking for new contracts and in February announced the facility would close by the end of the year, and action the judge labeled "grossly unfair."

Joel B. Hopmayer, attorney for the union, said that the union lost its contention that the company was obliged to keep the plant open for the duration of the contract but is appealing that aspect of the decision. The judge will also decide later on damages based on the value of the givebacks, estimated at \$2 million by the company and \$28 million by the union.

For the first time in U.S. history, a new state law clearly sets out the legal framework for establishing worker cooperatives. In late May, Massachusetts enacted legislation pushed by the Industrial Cooperative Association (249 Elm Street, Somerville, MA 02144) that not only makes it legally simpler to establish cooperatives but also establishes a solid, democratic model. With their legal status more firmly secured, industrial cooperatives may find it easier to arrange financing and may be more likely to be taken seriously by legislators in economic development plans.

Although the AFL-CIO executive council did not endorse the nuclear freeze at its spring meeting, it did reaffirm support for ratification of SALT II and for its plan to reduce nuclear arms. Four presidents of big unions (Gerald McEntee of AFSCME [public workers], William Wynn of Food and Commercial Workers, Murray Finley of Clothing and Textile, and William Wimpinger of the Machinists) were dissatisfied with the resolution's restraint and voted "no."

—David Moberg

By Alan Snitow

NEW YORK, JUNE 20

WHEN WILL THERE BE AN end to the arms race through disarmament? "There's a lot of complexity to it," responds Ambassador Louis Fields, a U.S. delegate to the UN Second Special Session on Disarmament now underway in New York. "I have some disquietude about time frames and I would ascribe that as well to whether or not disarmament can be achieved in this century."

To his credit, Fields said he would not rule out disarmament by the year 2000 if "some miraculous thing occurred." However, President Ronald Reagan, in a speech at the UN, made it clear that the upcoming U.S.-Soviet strategic arms negotiations—the START talks—are not likely to be the miraculous "something" that will "convince us of Soviet sincerity."

For those who marched into Central Park on June 12 (see story page 12) the 800,000-strong throng was something miraculous. But the massive event at the UN seemed, if anything, to have less impact on the U.S. stance and rhetoric than earlier and smaller European demonstrations.

"No Surprises," headlined the *Disarmament Times*, the peace movement's daily publication at the special session, the day after Reagan's speech. The newspaper called it "a speech marked by the absence of any substantive new proposals," while other disarmament advocates were less kind, calling his proposals "non-starters" or "booby traps."

"President Reagan was contemptuous of the peace movement," said Robert Johansen, president of the Institute for World Order. In their "arrogance of power," he continued, "Reagan and his team did not feel it was necessary to provide a conciliatory speech" for either the Soviets or the peace marchers.

Indeed, Johansen said he was surprised that the Soviets didn't walk out after being peppered with rhetorical shots.

The peace movement itself merited no attention as a significant force. It was mentioned only in the context of "...the Soviet Union is trying to manipulate the peace movement in the West."

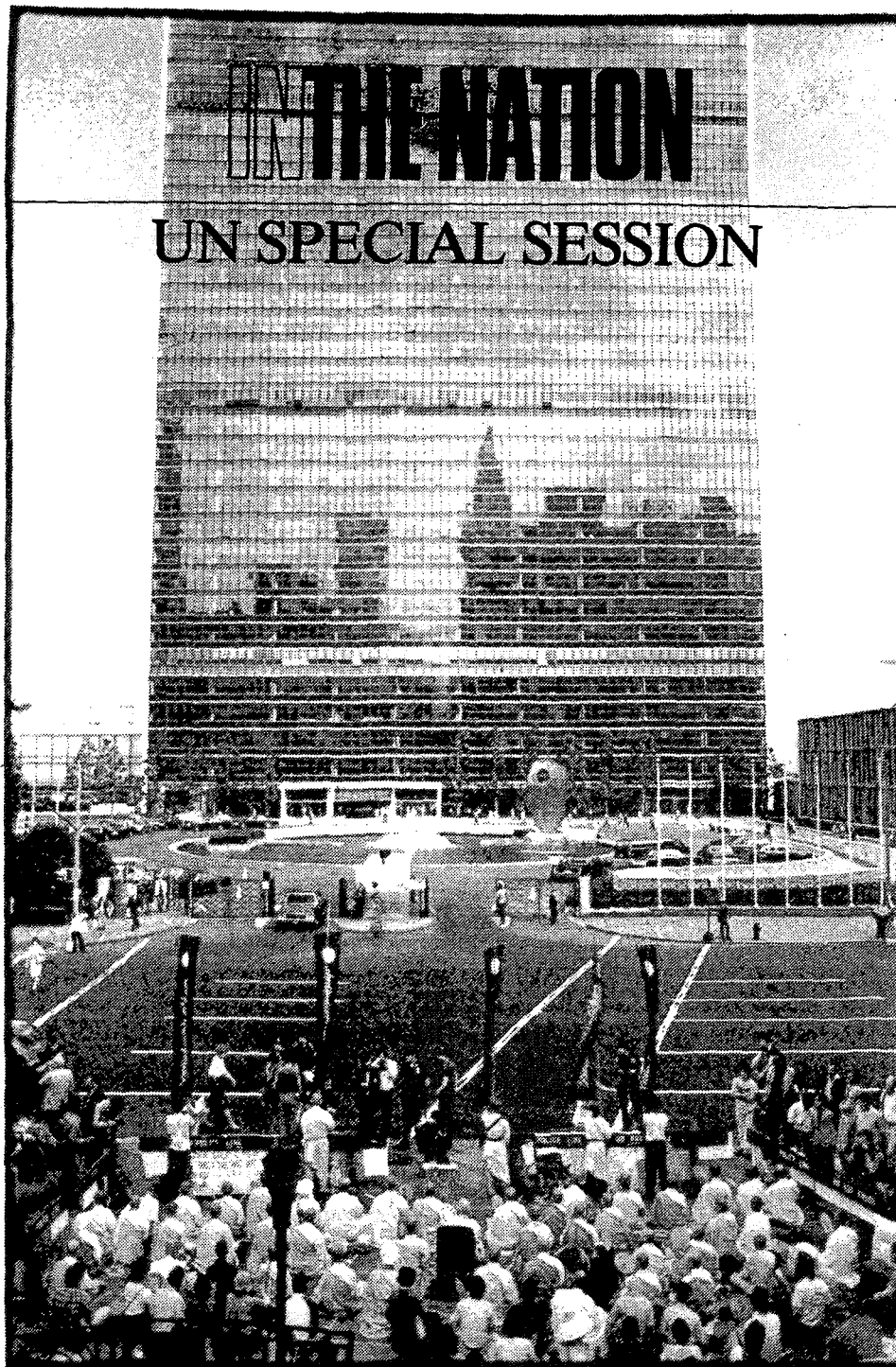
For those who are observing and analyzing the process at the UN Special Session, there is an additional constituency to be considered—the representatives of more than 150 countries, many of them so small that maintaining a UN delegation is a considerable sacrifice and commitment. Reagan's message to those delegates could not be called encouraging; even though Alex Liebowitz, a member of the U.S. Mission to the UN, said the president's attendance "demonstrates that we take the UN seriously."

The large majority of non-aligned and non-nuclear nations represented at the Special Session want just that: to be taken seriously by the major powers. They want to play some role in the disarmament process, to be consulted and, most of all, respected. But when Reagan spoke before the General Assembly, the delegates did not miss the fact that the speech was aimed more at staving off the growth of the peace movement in Peoria than it was at responding to their concerns about the arms race.

Perhaps the most telling moment came just after Reagan's speech when delegates crowded around the podium to examine the newest model in presidential teleprompters. Unlike previous speakers, Reagan read his speech without looking down at a text. Television viewers across the country saw him appear to be looking at the delegates as he delivered a tough, earnest, seemingly off-the-cuff statement that lasted 26 minutes, leaving just enough time for a quick network wrap-up and a commercial.

But gadgetry alone no longer wows the Third World.

All other major speeches have been read without the benefit of the teleprompter, and they have been considerably longer than 26 minutes. Although TV-trained Americans may blanch at the thought of listening to a halting translation of Soviet



Soviets score a diplomatic coup

foreign minister Andrei Gromyko's oration explaining his country's position on disarmament, the UN delegates sat through and saw through a different message from the Soviet Union: They were being treated without condescension by one of the superpowers.

Although there was no major breakthrough in Gromyko's speech, the Soviet foreign minister did indicate a softening of his country's opposition to on-site verification, a past obstacle in negotiations—particularly over chemical weap-

ons. He indicated that the Soviet Union would be willing to open some of its nuclear reactors and research facilities to inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency, something neither superpower permits at this point.

Winning the gesture war.

The big diplomatic coup came from Leonid Brezhnev himself in a letter read by Gromyko. Before the multitude of non-aligned and non-nuclear states, the Soviet Union swore a solemn oath "not to

be the first to use nuclear weapons." The move was "unilateral," said the foreign minister, and "becomes effective at the moment it is made public from the rostrum of the General Assembly."

For the first and last time so far in the session, a speaker's statement was interrupted by applause from the delegates. In an organization built on protocol, on gestures and on words, the Soviet Union is winning the battle for the hearts and minds of the delegates without even a fight.

On the contrary, Reagan's speech—while appealing to some fanciful Middle American beliefs—dismissed the UN process as frivolous. The only response to Brezhnev's no first-use pledge was in direct: "We need deeds, not words." But the UN, when it is successful, is so because it substitutes words for deeds of war.

"Simply collecting agreements," Reagan said, "will not bring peace."

Such statements are not likely to boost sagging morale here at the Special Session. In spite of the size and message of the June 12 march, the delegates are isolated in their own world. They are trying to write by consensus a document that outlines a "comprehensive program for disarmament" even as one of the leading nuclear states is saying in public briefings that disarmament won't happen in this century.

After a hundred speakers, including dozens of presidents, prime ministers and foreign ministers, the final result could be a stalemate—a session unable to arrive at even a statement of principles for disarmament. This would be a resounding silence from the world body.

At best, the more hopeful people at the UN think the session will come up with just another well-phrased, idealistic final document that is observed only in the breach of its intent and of its every provision. That has already been the fate of the much-honored, but little respected "final document" of the First Disarmament Session in 1978. One way or the other, the reward for the delegates' diligence is likely to be a decade of occasional briefings about the most secret strategic arms talks between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

When those secret bilateral talks begin at the end of June, the peace movement in the U.S. and Western Europe will have a more difficult time "keeping its eye on the target" as Reagan appeals for unity and promises eventual results.

"For 30 years," said Robert Johansen, "we had governments claim that they were doing all they could to reduce arms without a single weapon being dismantled as a result of negotiations. If we want peace, we must never take government statements at face value."

Alan Snitow is chair of the West Coast advisory board of *In These Times*.

Above, Buddhist monks from Japan gather in front of the UN. Below, New York police remove a demonstrator from a sit-in at the U.S. Mission to the UN.



RADIO MARTI

Playing politics with the airwaves, Cold War style

By Pat Aufderheide

THE IDEA OF A GOVERNMENT-run station to broadcast news about Cuba to Cubans—named, with unperceived irony, Radio Marti after the Cuban poet-martyr who called the U.S. “the belly of the [imperial] beast”—has had a faintly fantastic air to it since it was proposed almost a year ago.

The ironies were a little too sharp. Here was an expensive new item—more than \$17 million for the first 18 months—at a time of brutal slashes in the social “safety net.” Further, many argued, the station’s services were unnecessary. After all, Cuba picks up commercial radio stations’ signals—stations that carry not only news but the latest popular music and constant natural advertisements for the American way of life. If that weren’t enough, Cuba also gets Voice of America Spanish-language programming via a Florida transmitter station, Radio Marathon.

So why have administration, State and Defense Department (DOD) officials fought so hard for Radio Marti in the face of congressional reservations, even among staunch Republicans?

In the latest round of congressional jockeying to block funding for Radio Marti, a possible explanation has surfaced. And the explanation looks faintly more fantastic than the proposal itself. Foreign policy Cold Warriors may be looking for an excuse to physically attack Cuba. Perhaps they hope that once Radio Marti is set up on an AM frequency at 1040, Cuba will make good its threat to jam the frequency with massive power. This could be interpreted as an act of war—grounds to destroy the jamming facility on the island. This theory doesn’t come from conspiracy mongers lurking left-of-center in the Washington shadows. It comes from outraged Midwestern broadcasters and members of Congress whose patience has about worn out.

The theory surfaced when executives from Palmer Broadcasting, which owns the coast-to-coast clear channel AM radio station WHO in Des Moines, Iowa, noticed that Radio Marti was slotted for WHO’s frequency, 1040. Marti’s pipsqueak signal wouldn’t be a problem for WHO, which operates at 50 kilowatts, the maximum power the FCC allows in the continental U.S. But if Cuba proceeded to build—as it claims it will—a 500 kilowatt station that would jam the signal, WHO would shrink down to a pipsqueak station itself.

Robert Harter, the station owner, was understandably upset.

So the Palmer Broadcasting people descended on Washington, where they met with their legislators, State and Defense department officials and some representatives from the Presidential Commission on Broadcasting to Cuba. Early on, Harter talked with Kenneth Geddings, an unofficial consultant to the Commission. Harter says that Geddings, a major media owner in Mobile, Ala., and an ex-director of the Voice of America, told him that the jamming of Radio Marti might be considered an act of war.

When Palmer vice-president Robert Engelhardt and the station’s attorney Ken Salomon met with DOD official James R. Duncan at the Pentagon, they heard the same story. More, they claim, he suggested that the broadcasters stop worrying about the jamming and let the

government act “as your point man”—i.e. run interference, or handle Cuba on the jamming question. They also say Duncan claimed that jamming the signal would warrant a “surgical” removal of the jammer. Duncan, however, now denies he used the word “surgical” in that conversation, only saying that Cuban jamming would be regarded as an “unfriendly act,” and that “a variety of options would be available to us.”

The problem of interference between Cuban and U.S. radio signals is longstanding, and if Florida broadcasters have been loud in their protests, so have been the Cubans. The problem is bound to get worse as Cuba continues to strengthen its radio capacity. But governmental negotiations keep breaking down, most recently in November at international telecommunications talks in Rio de Janeiro. The U.S. arrived with intractable negotiating terms and the Cubans walked out in frustration before the conference ended. At that time, other foreign delegates to the conference criticized the U.S. for negotiating in bad faith. U.S. representatives claimed they had not expected much to happen.

One of the negotiating sessions offers clues that bolster WHO executives’ interpretation of the secret agenda behind

Radio Marti.

Last August Cuban delegates told U.S. representatives that they intended to build two 500-kilowatt stations on the AM 1040 and 1160 frequencies. Only after that announcement did the FCC recommend the 1040 frequency to Radio Marti. Whether the FCC chose it on its own or at the request of an interagency government task force depends on which agency you talk to. This January, the National Telecommunications Information agency assigned AM 1040 to Radio Marti. (On June 14, Assistant Secretary of State for interAmerican affairs Thomas Enders sent a letter confirming this sequence of events to Sen. Charles Percy [R-Ill.], whose Foreign Affairs committee looks at the Marti proposal in July.)

“They chose a frequency that cannot possibly work,” said Salomon. “You have to ask yourself why. Maybe they’re doing it to provoke a response.”

WHO representatives took their protest to legislators. Congressman Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) didn’t take much persuading. He had already gone on record calling Marti one of the “most imaginative ways to waste money” proposed by the administration and a pet project of “right-wing activists.” He was instrumental in sending the House bill authorizing Radio Marti into the Energy and Commerce Committee, where it slid into Timothy Wirth’s (D-Colo.) telecommunications subcommittee. Wirth, who has pushed hard to protect public radio and TV from budget cutbacks, is no fonder of Marti than Harkin is. He questioned the funding of Marti at a time when administration officials “are unwilling to spend even one penny to build public radio facilities in the U.S., which bring news and information to the American public.”

On Wirth’s turf, a deceptively simple amendment was proposed. Thomas Tauke (R-Ia.) and Al Swift (D-Wash.) proposed limiting Marti to a governmental frequency, which would automatically

turn it into a shortwave radio station and get it off WHO’s or any other AM station’s territory. The amendment passed enthusiastically.

State and DOD supporters of Marti are dismayed. “It would torpedo the project,” said Yale Newman, a member of the Commission and would-be program director of the new station. “There are very few short wave radio receivers in Cuba.” Newman and others are now hard at work lobbying Energy and Commerce committee members, trying to make the case that funding a Cuban parallel to Radio Free Europe is really a top priority.

Direct action.

But despite State Department official Miles Frechette’s earlier assurances to Congress, Radio Marti enthusiasts may not wait for congressional approval to start work on the station. On June 7 *Broadcasting* magazine announced that the Navy was building several radio towers just off Florida. The owners just happened to fit the specification of Radio Marti. The news promptly raised hackles both in private industry and in Congress, where Wirth among others made statements of protest and met with Defense Department officials.

The construction pleases some members of the Commission. “It would be an option for us,” Newman said of the \$1-million worth of towers, “if Con-

Continued on page 8

The military may not wait for Congress to approve “Radio Free Cuba.”

NOVEMBER ELECTIONS

Look left among Democrats

By John Judis

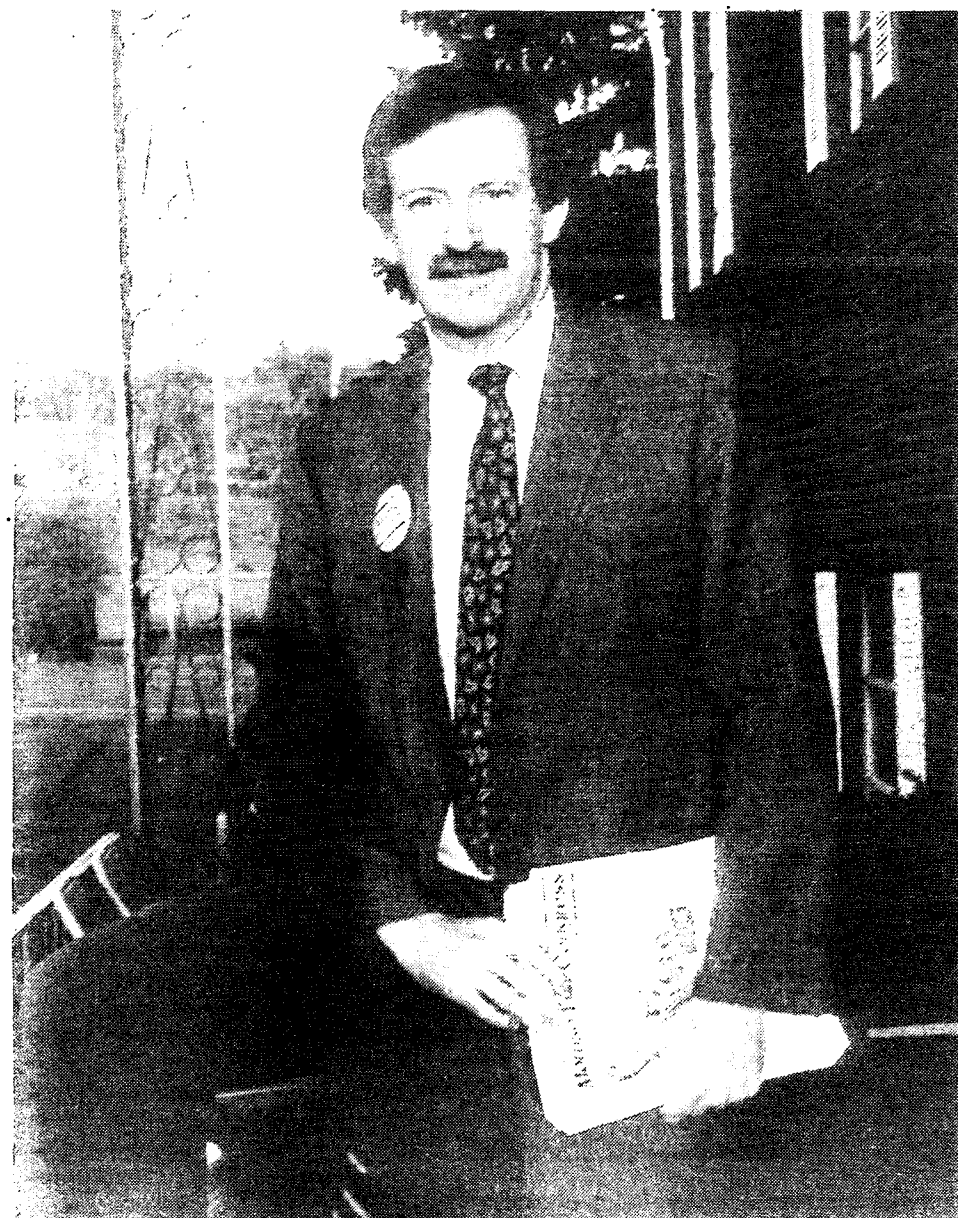
NEW HAVEN, CT

JUST AS THE EXHAUSTION of postwar economic and foreign policy stimulated the supply-side fad among Republicans, it is encouraging a new politics among some Democrats.

Its practitioners call themselves “progressives.” They stress the need for economic planning rather than free market initiatives. They are skeptical of rising military budgets. They think America’s foreign policy should be based on the promulgations of its own democratic ideals. They find their support among left-leaning unions like the Machinists and among environmental, feminist and minority organizations. They tend to be from the industrial East, the Midwest or the Pacific coast. And they probably supported Senator Edward Kennedy rather than President Jimmy Carter in the 1980 presidential primaries.

In the Democratic class of 1980, the most prominent of this new breed was Boston’s Barney Frank, who because of redistricting faces an uphill battle this year against fellow incumbent Margaret Heckler, a GOP moderate. (In spite of her differences with Reaganism, the Republican National Committee has accorded Heckler’s race its second highest priority among House contests.)

Among the newcomers in 1982, several candidates stand out. Lane Evans, a young lawyer who won the Democratic primary in the Rock Island, Ill., House district, will face State Sen. Ken McMillen in the fall. McMillen upset incumbent Republican Tom Railsback in the April primary with the help of the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC). Bill Curry, a former



Naderite and aide to Rep. Toby Moffett, will try to fill Moffett’s Hartford House seat. (Moffett is running for Senate.) And

Bruce Morrison hopes to win the right in the September Connecticut Democratic primary to face incumbent Republican Larry DeNardis in November.

Continued on page 8

Radio

Continued from page 7
gress would agree."

The Defense Department argues that the towers are being built for separate military purposes. What are those purposes? "Classified," is the succinct answer of spokesman Duncan. But on June 16 Navy official Mark Neuhart embarrassed the DOD by admitting to the *Miami Herald* that the towers were intended for Radio Marti.

Duncan continued to deny that this violated procedure. "The charge that government is getting ahead of Congress on Radio Marti is not true," he said. "It happens that the recent installation will be compatible with Radio Marti, but there is no question of its use until Congress authorizes it."

Tauke summarized the sentiments of many when he said it took "a lot of faith" to believe in an independent military purpose for the highly specialized towers.

In recent hearings Sen. Lowell Weicker (R-Conn.) protested that Radio Marti was "a '50s response to an '80s problem." Enders replied sharply, "What we have in Cuba is a '50s situation." Or maybe what we will have is a '50s situation, if the new Cold Warriors have their way.

Election

Continued from page 7

Bruce Morrison, a New Haven Legal Services lawyer, will try to win the right in the September Democratic primary to face incumbent Republican Larry DeNardis in November.

Morrison typifies the outlook and the political base of the new Democrats. He is a member in good standing of what Irving Kristol calls the "new class." In 1965, he graduated from MIT with a chemistry degree. He then enrolled in a

doctoral program at the University of Illinois, but was sidetracked by student politics. "I found out I liked working with people better than with molecules," Morrison said. He eventually transferred to Yale Law School.

Morrison was urged to go into patent law—the natural outlet for lawyers with training in chemistry—but in his first year at Yale, he began working at the New Haven Legal Assistance Association, the local branch of the Legal Services Corporation. "All I ever wanted to do was work on people's problems," he said.

After graduating in 1973, Morrison moved quickly up the ladder from staff attorney to managing attorney to executive director of the 30-lawyer New Haven Legal Services Association (NHLAA). Under Morrison, the NHLAA became a model of how a public agency could work. "Productivity at NHLAA would dazzle lawyers at the most efficient large firms," Steven Brill proclaimed in an October 1981 article on Morrison in *The American Lawyer*. Working out of four city offices, the NHLAA serviced about 180 clients a month.

But with Reagan's election in 1980, Morrison, who was also a member of the board of the national Legal Services Corporation, found himself fighting rear guard battles against the Reagan budget cuts while trying to provide the same services with less money to New Haven's poor. In August 1981, he decided that he would run for Congress.

"I had always been skeptical of electoral politics because of the compromises it involved," he said. "But Reagan cleared the air by polarizing the country. It became important and more possible to run a progressive campaign than before."

Government intervention.

Morrison thinks that Connecticut voters got "so badly burned" by both Carter and Reagan that "they are willing to listen now to new things." The main new thing that Morrison has in mind is the need for government intervention in the private sector.

"I think government has to play a role in managing the economy and in fight-

ing the problems of inflation," Morrison said. "I don't think we can be satisfied any longer with the usual fiscal and monetary policy or with bribing the private sector."

In his campaign, Morrison talks about the need for an incomes policy for government direction of where investment goes and for "fundamental income tax reform."

Morrison is quick to point out that his proposals are not "radical." "If you look at the other advanced industrial democracies, they have incomes policies and they direct where credit goes," he said.

Morrison also doesn't consider himself a "socialist." "I am pretty skeptical about large bureaucratic organizations," he said. "I am not a believer in any kind of extreme socialist solution. But I have no illusions about the interests of the private sector. I am a mixed economy person—I believe it is necessary to impose social restraints on markets to have the kind of distributive effects you want."

But in the context of Reagan's economic philosophy—which he defined in his Inaugural Address as the belief that government is not the solution but the problem—Morrison's plea for government intervention challenges the premises rather than simply the conclusions of Reaganism.

He opposes the Reagan administration's foreign policy—in particular, its intervention in El Salvador and its military buildup—and thinks that American support for military dictatorships has made it more difficult for democratic alternatives like those in Costa Rica to flourish. Regarding El Salvador, Morrison remarked, "There is no way we come out the winner by being on the side of governments and the military when they are seeking to deny the reality of revolutionary forces."

His criticisms of military spending echo those of James Fallows (*National Defense*). "There is a fundamental mismanagement of the resources we spend on defense," Morrison said. "And there is no coherent statement of what our defense strategy is."

Neither Morrison's economic nor his military policy are new—his economic

policy resembles that of left-wing New Dealers and his foreign policy is that of the Carter State Department. Once in office, the new Democrats like Morrison could accede to the Business Roundtable's free market "realism" (in the form of a threatened investment strike). They could also have their foreign policy views shaken by the victory of non-democratic and anti-American liberation movements, as were the views of some Carter administration members.

But Morrison, Curry and Evans could as easily be the beginning of a new debate as the end of an old one.

The Italian vote.

Morrison's first step is already assured. As a result of his campus and labor support—Morrison was endorsed last month by the Connecticut AFL-CIO—he will get 20 percent of the delegates to the July 16-17 Democratic Party nominating convention he needs to qualify for a spot in the September 7 primary ballot. In a low turnout primary, Morrison's support among blacks as well as labor and students can be expected to carry the day against his more conservative opponent, New Haven alderman Steve Wareck. But Morrison will have his hands full trying to defeat DeNardis in November.

Connecticut's Third Congressional District, which includes New Haven and its populous suburbs, has not been solidly Democratic or liberal. Prior to DeNardis, it was represented by Robert Giamo, a centrist Democrat with a record similar to that of Chicago's Dan Rostenkowski. Both Giamo and DeNardis were Italian—an important factor in New Haven. Morrison is not.

DeNardis' main liability in November will be Reaganomics. While DeNardis has been a prominent "gypsy moth," he may be unable to prevent being identified with the widespread unemployment that the Reagan policies have caused in New Haven and the surrounding areas.

To win in November, Morrison will have to override DeNardis' popularity among Italian Democrats and overcome fears of his own radicalism among the district's suburbanites. But Morrison, who is an energetic campaigner, is off to a good start.



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12. Eat the Rich
13. Stop Nuclear Power/Stop Nuclear Weapons
16. Mutants for Nuclear Power
18. I am a Shameless Agitator
20. Minds are like Parachutes — They Only Function when Open
48. People Before Profits
49. Stop the War... Before it Starts
50. The Issue is Survival
56. Go Reds — Smash State
57. Impeach Reagan
58. Reagan for Shah
59. Draft Beer, not People
60. Don't Register for World War III
64. Sure, I'm a Marxist! (see t-shirt graphic)
67. We Are Not Amused
72. We Are Everywhere
73. The Moral Majority is Neither

74. U.S. Out of North America
76. No More Vietnams in Central America — U.S. Out of El Salvador
81. unemployed
82. Let Them Eat Jellybeans
83. Why do we kill people who kill people to show people that killing people is wrong?
84. Nuclear War — can spoil your whole day
85. Unilateral Disarmament
86. If I Can't Dance — I Don't Want to be Part of Your Revolution (see t-shirt graphic of Emma Goldman)
87. I Read Banned Books
88. Wearing Buttons is Not Enough
89. I Shall Continue to be an Impossible Person so long as those who are now possible remain possible - Bakunin
90. Don't Presume I'm Straight
91. Fight Racism
92. Nurture Yourself
93. Beware the Generals/General Motors
94. Peace Sign w/Stars and Stripes
95. Women Make Policy not Coffee

96. Every Mother is a Working Mother
97. Never Another Battered Woman (w/graphic)
98. My Karma ran over my Dogma
99. Stop the Arms Race Now
100. Eat Shit (w/clown graphic)
101. Out of the Closet and into the Streets

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IN THE WORLD

EL SALVADOR

Was the election fraudulent?

By John Dinges

WASHINGTON

THE ELECTION FOR A CONSTITUENT assembly in El Salvador last March was a resounding success from the U.S. administration point of view because the record-shattering voter turnout appeared to show a massive repudiation of the leftists fighting a civil war against the U.S.-backed civilian-military government.

According to the final vote count released two weeks after the March 28 election, more than 1.5 million people had voted, defying the guerrillas' calls to boycott the election. In a country of 4.5 million people, the turnout at the polls represented virtually the entire adult population and surpassed by several hundred thousand the pre-election estimates of total eligible voters.

Arguing from the "unprecedented numbers" point of view, Secretary of State Alexander Haig pronounced the results "a military defeat for the guerrillas quite as much as a political repudiation."

Three months after the election, however, investigators have taken a second look at the election statistics and procedures and have cast a cloud of doubt over the administration's claims to success, arguing that the voter turnout may have been fraudulently inflated by as much as 100 percent.

Past military governments in El Salvador had built up a firm reputation for fixing elections, so denunciation of electoral fraud in El Salvador might be tantamount to complaining about ants at a picnic. But in this case the U.S. government had vouched for the results and observers had been invited to assure the elections were simon pure. Apart from the contest between right-wing parties and the reform-minded Christian Democrats, there was another contest. The second contest was a referendum for the government side in the civil war with the leftist guerrillas.

A research center at San Salvador's Central American University, which is run by the Catholic Church, made the principal charge of fraud in an article in a University magazine in early June. "There are serious indications that lead to reasonably confirmed judgments that there was massive fraud in the number of voters, but not in the proportion of votes ascribed to each of the contending parties," the article said.

Somehow, in other words, an accurate figure was obtained of the percentage of the real vote won by each party. Then someone fraudulently jacked up the total number of votes without changing each party's share, according to the study.

Thus, presumably the contending parties were willing to go along with the fraud because they received their fair share of delegates in the civilian constituent assembly.

At the same time, the contending parties—whose ideological stances range from center-right to extreme-right—all benefited by appearing to have won a referendum against the guerrillas who were shown, in turn, to be virtually without popular support.

This reporter conducted an analysis of computer printouts of election returns that showed results at two key junctures in the vote-counting process: early March 30, two days after the election, when 54 percent of the final tally had been reported; and April 14, the day complete returns were finally made available.

A preliminary examination of the two



The election was observed by 150 officials and 700 journalists, according to Richard Scammon, an election consultant who served on the U.S. observer team. "You can't steal an election with all those people watching," he claimed.

sets of returns did not reveal evidence of fabricated votes in the final return. Nor were there any clues as to how many hundreds of thousands of extra votes could have been added in such a way as not to disturb the relative shares of the contending parties. The University study acknowledges that the researchers also were unable to determine the mechanism allegedly used to carry out the fraud.

This reporter's examination, however, did not resolve the fundamental charge made by the University researchers. They concluded from a study of the voting procedure and the average time needed by each voter to vote that it was physically impossible for 1.5 million people to have cast ballots during the time the polls were open.

The University researchers used the following figures. There were 4,556 voting tables, each with a voting booth and self-contained ballot box. But only 4,021 were actually open because some areas were shut down by fighting. The average time required for each voter to cast his or her ballot was two-and-a-half minutes, and the average time the tables were open on election day was eight hours. Given these figures, there would have been time on election day for only 772,032 persons to vote—just about half the total turnout reported by the elec-

toral commission in its final tally.

"One-and-a-half million ballots might have showed up in the ballot boxes," the article said, "but there could not have been 1.5 million voters" in the election.

The key variable in the University researchers' study, however, is the estimate of two-and-a-half minutes average voting time per voter. A major problem in the dispute over the alleged fraud is that after the election, there is no independent way to determine how long the process actually took.

In an official response to the fraud charges, Salvadoran electoral commission president Jorge Bustamante said his commission estimated before the election that voting time per voter would be one-and-a-half minutes. He said he himself had taken only 35 seconds to cast his ballot. Yet he did not dispute the other figures used by the University researchers.

At one-and-a-half minutes per voter, only 1.28 million people could have voted—still nearly 300,000 below the final reported tally.

A member of the observer delegation sent by the Reagan administration, Howard Penniman of the American Enterprise Institute, said he timed voters for about five minutes at one polling place and found that a voter was leaving the booth every 45 to 55 seconds. If Pen-

niman's estimate is accurate as a nationwide average, almost two million voters could have passed through the polls in the time allotted.

Other estimates of voting time vary widely. The right-wing ARENA party had charged before the election that the voting procedure was so complicated it could take up to five minutes to cast ballots.

If one assumes that the final tally was fraud-free, then the 1.5 million votes reported would have been cast at a snappy rate of one vote every one minute and 15 seconds at all polling places.

The University study acknowledged that the argument based on average time per voter is not compelling and that the researchers could not explain how the alleged fraud was carried out.

In addition to Bustamante's reply, a U.S. Embassy spokesman called the University's charges "bunk," and U.S. Ambassador Deane Hinton used the word "bullshit" and told a reporter to quote him. The fact that the charges, based on such relatively speculative evidence, have been given so much weight internationally—and have elicited such virulent responses from U.S. defenders of the election—is perhaps a function of the skepticism with which the Salvadoran election was viewed on the international level from the beginning.

The Reagan administration, which in effect put the legitimacy of its Central American policy at stake in promoting the election, sought to avoid charges of fraud by encouraging countries to send observers to certify the "honesty" of the election. Although several Latin American countries sent observers, the U.S. and England were the only industrial democracies to send observers.

The observer teams visited polling places on election day and, in some cases, compared vote counts from the election tables with results recorded in the final tally, finding them accurate, according to Penniman. But none of the U.S. observers remained in El Salvador long enough to oversee the entire vote-counting process, which dragged on for more than two weeks.

Richard Scammon, an election consultant who served on the U.S. observer team, rejected the fraud charges as "specious." "The elections were observed by 150 official observers and 700 journalists," he said. "You might say the observers who accepted the invitations were favorable to the Salvadoran government, but the journalists certainly were not. You can't steal an election with all those people watching."

He said the complicated fraud conspiracy, as required by the University charges, would have involved thousands of people—all of the electoral officials and party observers at each of the 4,021 voting tables.

Part of the reason the fraud charges have been taken so seriously is because of the early and at times contradictory statements made by Bustamante and U.S. officials, including Ambassador Hinton. In January, Bustamante took pains to explain to this reporter that the total voter turnout would be no higher than 800,000 since so many Salvadorans had left the country or had become refugees because of the civil war. Hinton, in a January interview with this reporter, was even more pessimistic, saying that a turnout of 800,000 would be "a bloody miracle."

Bustamante, in announcing vote results on March 30, indicated that 80 percent of the vote was in. When he said that, 881,883 votes were reported, which would have made the total vote count approximately 1.2 million.

In his response to the fraud charges, Bustamante increased the confusion by explaining that the use of 80 percent at that time referred not to total votes but to voting tables, and that the high turnout tables from the city of San Salvador had not yet been counted. In fact, the computer printout from March 30 shows that over two-thirds of the San Salvador votes were already included.

John Dinges, a foreign editor at the Washington Post, is also an associate editor at Pacific News Service.

Israel

Continued from page 3
growing talk here of post-war political demands concerning the future of Lebanon. Deployment of U.S. troops was urged by Labor and the Likud alike, generally in one breath with a call for the "withdrawal of all foreign forces now in Lebanon—Israeli, Syrian and PLO." Even letting slide the incongruity, hardly anyone asked just where the PLO is supposed to go.

It is too early to tell whether the war might enhance the possibility of an authentic agreement afterward between Israel and the Palestinians, but an educated guess would be almost certainly not, at least for a while. The PLO's legitimacy as a partner for peace is exactly what Jerusalem is trying to prevent, because that would force difficult questions of territory and borders.

Talk in the Western media of Arafat leading the Palestinians into the Camp David process is most likely wishful thinking, if not outright disinformation. Middle-of-the-road Israeli doves who oppose any dealings with the PLO in the past are suddenly most enthusiastic about the prospects. But even if such a strategy were possible on the internal PLO plane, Israel's current rulers would likely invade West Beirut before letting themselves be put in a position of having to talk to real Palestinian representatives about self-rule. A safer bet is that hardliners in the PLO will now determine policy, much to the Israeli government's relief.

Meanwhile, Israel is insisting that it has no territorial designs of its own on Lebanon, but such words were also uttered in 1967 concerning the West Bank and the Golan Heights (and Sinai). At the same time, Jerusalem has done its best, especially for internal consumption, to present the Lebanese Christian, Druse and even Moslem villagers as thankful to the Jewish army for "liberating them from

the yoke of PLO terror." The Palestinians' deployment in sleepy southern Lebanon likely was disruptive to some peasants, and seven years of civil war have created a considerable sector of Lebanese under influence of the right-wing Phalange militias, willing to look to the Israeli intervention as a catalyst for restoring order to their country. But the official version of welcome to Israeli soldiers as "liberators" just does not add up with the reports of many Lebanese made homeless by the war.

Hints of such suffering, at least, were made accessible to Israelis in some unusual footage screened on state-run TV, which has mostly endeavored to mobilize support for the army. On June 11, there were interviews with articulate Lebanese civilians whose shock at losing homes or families was readily visible, and on the next night, some soldiers at the front op-

only expressed doubts about what they were doing. Also, by then, the nation was considerably sobered by the growing number of its own casualties.

Begin rides high.

But Begin is still riding high on the war. The government's popularity could crumble under the combined weight of growing casualties and outside pressure, which eventually will likely deprive Israel of most of its gains. Even if the U.S. directly supports a strong, conservative Lebanese government, as Israel supposedly wants, a price would still have to be paid to win wider support elsewhere in the Arab world. A minimum here would be Israeli concessions on the 1967-occupied territories.

In addition, as the Labor MPs pointed out, the war will have to be paid for. Already on June 13, the Finance Ministry

took advantage of the public's preoccupation and declared a 25 percent increase on Israel's regressive value-added tax, a 2 percent levy on what had been an untouchable—stock market transactions—reimposition of a tax on Israelis who leave the country, and a 30 percent rise in fuel prices, with more increases expected.

For now, the measures were swallowed by a numbed public. But the war can offer only a short-term solution to Israel's unemployment problem, and will most likely accelerate the country's three-digit inflation rate, leaving cost-of-living wage adjustment agreements far behind. If, as can be anticipated, the occupation of Lebanon up to Beirut itself and the delivery of a severe military blow to the PLO does not "solve the Palestinian problem," then more and more Israelis will begin to question the human and economic cost of the war.

Letter

Continued from page 3

from a colleague that the State Department had learned, as of June 14, that the Israeli army was planning to take no prisoners alive in west Beirut. There is no statement to that effect in the press. The source does not wish to be identified.

On June 18, I call *Le Monde's* chief Middle East correspondent. In Paris, *Le Monde's* veteran journalist Uri Avnery and former General Mattiyahu Peled have said similar things on TV. French TV footage shows Israeli defense forces in Lebanon separating the Lebanese from the Palestinian prisoners. The Palestinians have crosses marked on their backs. Further, the Israeli government violates the Geneva Convention. Roundups, detentions, withholding names and location of prisoners continues, and the International Red Cross is prevented from having access to the prisoners.

On June 19, the *New York Times* reports that at a luncheon meeting to raise funds for the State of Israel Bonds campaign Begin repeated the message he had given to Jewish groups since his arrival. Israel is to remain in Lebanon "until it feels secure from the 'neo-Nazi' PLO."

On June 21, I learn that the *Jerusalem Post* has reprinted a letter from Abraham Wasserstein that was published in *Haaretz* on April 25, "I am an Israeli. I was born and brought up in Germany. My parents and my sister were murdered by the Germans, along with six million other Jews. My children used to ask me how such a thing could have happened....I want to state publicly that I am ashamed of having a government that prides itself on discovering sooner or later every Arab terrorist, but has not managed to find and punish Jewish terrorists who attack Arabs and try to kill or maim them....I am ashamed of people who make us look ludicrous and hateful in the eyes of the whole world; who use the Holocaust as a counter in their political haggling and our religion as an object of coalition horse-trading; who calumniate those

who disagree with them as anti-Zionist or anti-Semitic...."

On June 21, I see a statement that appeared in the Israeli press asking the Israeli government to stop the war and leave Lebanon. "The action of the government of Israel leads to eternal war in the whole area. The Palestinian problem will not be solved by a strong IDF [Israeli defense forces], as powerful as it may be, but will result in thousands of dead and wounded and hundreds of thousands more refugees." It has been signed in Israel by 1,300 people in a period of three days.

In the U.S., among members of the Jewish establishment, there is an official silence—an endorsement. Where is the outrage and grief? Where is the bitter wisdom that out of this—10,000 or more killed, 600,000 made homeless—only more violence may come? Why is it that in Europe, which has known the devastation of war and where Jews have endured the mortal affliction of anti-Semitism, they and others can and do speak?

Irene L. Gendzier is a professor of history at Boston University.

June 12 was not only historic because of its size but because it forged an historic link between the "separate" issues of peace and human needs. Days later Reagan was at the UN Special Session on Disarmament hyping up the East-West conflict as if there is no link between the arms race and impoverishment. We need to build on the June 12 momentum. We urgently need a *national conference* to strategize about the direction of the movement and to plan a fall campaign (a week of activities Oct. 16 to Oct. 23) for JOBS WITH PEACE & EQUALITY.

A national conference will pull together an ongoing, multi-issue coalition that cuts across different movements: anti-draft, anti-nuke, civil rights, labor, women's rights, the elderly, gay rights, and more.

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EUROPE



At a June 5 anti-Reagan demonstration in Paris, French women's groups carried banners accusing Reagan of misogyny and proclaiming support for the ERA in the U.S.

criticism...period.

The Socialist Party had confidentially ordered its members not to take part, while the Communist Party announced its own peace demonstration for a later date, when Reagan would be gone, and took the added precaution of scheduling its annual Communist Youth picnic outside Paris for the same day as the anti-Reagan march. The new left Unified Socialist Party (PSU) was present and the

Never mind that the policy does not work and is certain to cause catastrophe.

various Trotskyist organizations were out in force.

More novel and interesting was the participation of the most organized (and controversial) of French women's groups, the Mouvement de Liberation des Femmes (MLF), with banners accusing Reagan of misogyny and proclaiming support for the Equal Rights Amendment (such equal rights have already been adopted by the European Community). A large proportion of the Paris demonstration was made up of Third World groups—whether students, political exiles or immigrant workers. There was also a group of U.S. Citizens Against Reagan Imperialism and in solidarity with the people of Central America.

In Bonn, the demonstration against Reagan was much larger—perhaps 350,000. In spite of Poland and Reagan's public relations efforts to project a less warlike image and despite its own political divisions, the West German peace movement is still strong. In West Berlin, a much uglier mood and widespread rumors of assassination attempts caused Reagan to cut short his visit.

Reagan prevails by default

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION has a foreign policy. Europe has none. And so in the course of President Reagan's trip to Europe in June, the U.S. succeeded in getting its allies to subscribe, in more or less mealy-mouthed terms, to its own policy.

Never mind that the policy may not work at all, that it is certain to cause catastrophe insofar as it does and that it is so contrary to almost everything that Western political leaders still say they swear by that no one dares yet spell it out. The fact remains that Europe has been unable to get together on anything else and is letting itself be dragged into

hemisphere lost quarreling with each other, into a single empire of the rich north over the poor south. Henry Kissinger noted recently that the U.S. had mistakenly been anti-colonial when the colonies in the Third World were held by Europe, just as Europe was subsequently anti-imperialist when America moved in on countries Europe had been forced to leave.

The Reagan administration strategists see an opportunity to heal these misunderstandings in an international gentlemen's club of capitalist nations whose rivalries can be kept from exploding by their joint capacity to beat up on the weaker neighbors down south. This loose empire is to be held together not by direct rule (with some semblance of law and responsibility), but by the fear of rapid punishing missions. Strut around the world in warships, and whack 'em every now and then to let them know who's boss: That's the new world disorder.

European leaders know they cannot defend such a barbarous project before public opinion in their own countries. They probably don't believe in it themselves, and they are trying to think of clever ways to slip out of the worst consequences. But time is running out. Whether conservative or socialist, Europe's rulers are losing all moral credit in the Third World and with the most conscious part of their own populations, especially the younger generation.

Everyone knows the leaders of the rich countries don't like each other as much as they pretended when they got together, all smiles for the photographers, at Versailles. Everyone knows they are plotting more or less subtle trade wars against each other. But what came across in the spectacle was an image of class solidarity: For all their differences, the rich stood together against the poor. Reagan's insistence on talking East-West easily overcame the Europeans' feeble efforts to talk North-South.

In a week of summits, the only decision taken regarding the Third World was the NATO decision leading to coordinated military action against it. Even the most pro-European of African leaders, former Senegalese president Leopold Senghor, had to admit his disappointment. The Soviet Union, he acknowledged sadly, does more for its friends in Africa than Europe does.

While the rulers were celebrating themselves at Versailles, the people were in the

streets of Paris. Well, not exactly the people—only about 20,000, but still, the largest far-left demonstration in a long time. Officially, it was anti-Reagan and anti-war, but it was also the first sign that the far left was edging, like it or not, from critical support of the left government to

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Illustrations by Nicole Hollander

JUNE 12, 1982



Photographers of Bread and Puppet Theater: above, Mel Rosenthal, below and lower right, Hazel Hankin.



By David Moberg

NEW YORK

The word had gone out through the small towns of Vermont from the now-venerable counter-cultural Bread and Puppet Theater: We need 800 volunteers for June 12 in New York. Wear white and show up.

Well over 800 did show up to take an honored place near the head of the vast throng of possibly 800,000 who gathered for the largest and one of the most varied demonstrations in U.S. history. With folksy banners on rough-hewn poles, paper-mache figurines and oversized puppets, the Bread and Puppet delegation filled several blocks with its processional tableau depicting The World, The End of the World and The Fight Against the End of the World. There were demonic heads and a giant green dragon, its gaping mouth and flapping wings with

fingers sweeping down Second past the United Nations building

George Nash, 34, a building co from Wilcott, Vt., and the father was carrying one of the banners though it was his first demonstration college days, he had joined with meeting in voting for the nuclear

Why make the trip to New York? ping the madness. It's just that s he said. "The last time I joined pr was against the war in Vietnam. V ped that. I guess we can do it ag

The marchers were driven by a troubled sense of the precarious of high-tech overkill in the world cially the escalating chances of war and the deadly reality of "tional" wars underway. But fo grim themes, it was a day of op enthusiasm and camaraderie in al the simple sanity of goals that oug the ends of politics, like justice an

The diverse crowd, skewed onl



Photographs by, clockwise left to right: Lionel Delevingne, Lionel Delevingne, Lionel Delevingne, Hazel Hankin, Hazel Hankin, Steve Cagan, large photo of crowd by Steve Cagan.

venue to young, well-educated whites, had a far more representative range of ages than most demonstrations. For a peace march, it also included an unusually large delegation from organized labor and from minorities, many of whom were brought by their unions. It was a first protest for some, a revival of activity for many others. Although the demonstration tapped deep latent sentiments stemming at least from the Vietnam-era anti-war protests, it appeared to be a sudden awakening, especially when compared with the 25,000 who showed up four years ago for the first UN conference on disarmament.

Since then, however, the Strategic Arms Limitation talks (SALT) and treaty have gone into a coma. New weapons that can destabilize the balance of mutu-



ally assured destruction have been announced and, in some cases, deployed. Massive European protests have erupted. New disarmament groups—like Physicians for Social Responsibility, the freeze campaign and Ground Zero Week—have brought ideas, energy and troops to join with more traditional peace organizations, like SANE, the Fellowship for Reconciliation, War Resisters League and Mobilization for Survival.

Many churches and their leaders, especially among Catholics, have made bold leaps in denunciation of the evil of nuclear weapons. The traditional pro-military stance of the labor movement has softened ever so slightly with endorsement of SALT II and a new willingness to confront the economic price paid by

workers for the arms race. And Ronald Reagan occupies the White House.

"What first sparked my interest was I was so alarmed at the Reagan administration policies, talking about fighting and winning a nuclear war," Thomas Aley of Aspen, Colo., said as he stood before the UN with a picture of a charred young girl from Hiroshima.

It was a common theme. "Reagan did the movement a favor by being candid and honest and breaking through the veil of rationalization," argued radical psychologist Joel Kovel. "Once he did that, it was an avalanche. Once rationalization, such as civil defense, disappeared, there was no rationality on the other side."

Reagan gets some credit: Membership in SANE, for example, nearly quadrupled to 9,000 after he was elected. The organizers get some credit: Despite their disagreements, they put together a persuasively broad coalition. But many of

Continued on page 22

EDITORIAL

Begin's dirty war against Camp David

Begin's policies are eroding Israel's support and threaten disaster for all.

On June 17, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, speaking to the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations at the Waldorf Hotel in New York, said that his country's June 6 invasion of Lebanon was provoked by the attack the previous week on Shlomo Argov, Israel's ambassador to Britain, and by shelling attacks on northern Israel from across the Lebanese border. He received a standing ovation from the 350 American Jewish leaders in the audience as he declared: "In the first two days the so-called PLO ceased to exist as an organized group."

That same day in Israel, Janet Aviad, a leader of the Peace Now movement, spoke for the growing number of Israelis who oppose the bellicosity of the Begin regime. "There never was a war like this," she said. "This is an imperialistic war—you're trying to rearrange Lebanon." Her view was echoed by the writer Amos Elon: "This is the first war in the country's history that is highly controversial." People now admit, he said, "Gee, I'm glad I got out of the army. Maybe they felt it before, but they didn't say so. Now it's being said quite openly."

Begin's explanation for the invasion—accepted so eagerly and uncritically by the American Jewish leaders—also seems to ring false in many Israeli ears. "In all past wars," says Aryeh Dvoretzky, a mathematician whose son was killed in the 1973 war, "there was a feeling they were inevitable, and they came in response." In the earlier wars, he says, "there was the feeling that they were closing in on us, and threatened our existence. There wasn't that feeling this time."

And for good reason. First, the attack on Ambassador Argov, according to British authorities, was the work of a Syrian-backed group called "Black June" headed by a sworn foe of the PLO, whose representative in Great Britain was also on the group's hit list. Second, according to reports from the UN force in southern Lebanon, not a single PLO rocket or shell was fired into northern Israel from the date of the July 28, 1981, cease-fire until May 9, which was almost three weeks after Israel heavily bombed Palestinian sections of Beirut, and later in the same day that Israel again attacked targets in Lebanon. Indeed, while the PLO was observing the ceasefire, Israeli planes violated Lebanon's airspace 2,125 times between August 1981 and May 1982—and it violated Lebanese territorial waters 652 times, as columnists Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway have noted.

In short, this war is not the result of provocations, most of which have come from the Israeli side in recent years, but is an attempt by the Begin regime, at a time of unprecedented Arab weakness and disunity, to achieve its goal of denying to the Palestinian people on the West Bank the autonomy promised them in the Camp David accords. Israeli leaders, of course, have not said this directly—at least not publicly. But they have said

that they are out to destroy the PLO as a political and military force, and that they believe they can accomplish this by establishing a 25-mile demilitarized zone in southern Lebanon and by removing all Palestinian and Syrian armed forces from that country.

Discussions last week among the foreign ministers of the 10 countries belonging to the European Common Market indicated a general awareness that the war was not what Begin tells his public it is, and that there is substantial opposition in Europe to Israeli policy, not only with regard to this invasion, but also to Begin's general policy of Israeli expansionism. The strongest statement by a European leader was made by Greek prime minister Andreas Papandreu on June 22. After a meeting with Farouk Kaddoumi, head of the PLO political department, Papandreu charged that "Israel is repeating against the heroic Palestinian people and humanity the same crimes as those of the Nazis against the Jews." The foreign ministers, who also discussed the Lebanese situation last week, are unlikely to condemn Israeli actions in such harsh terms. But in preliminary talks they con-

sidered a report by Belgian foreign minister Leo Tindemans indicating deep concern over Begin's refusal seriously to seek an accommodation with the Palestinians. Tindemans' report made the following points:

- The Camp David accords between Israel and Egypt were a "historic step," but were incomplete. "We must associate the Palestinians to the process," the report was described as saying.
- A better definition of autonomy must be negotiated for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.
- The peace process must be "amplified" to include other Middle Eastern countries.
- There must be "confidence-building measures," such as political liberalization in the West Bank, or a gradual withdrawal of Israeli troops.

The foreign ministers' discussions—not to mention Papandreu's remarks—indicate that the pursuit of the Begin policies by Israel are leading to that nation's increasing isolation from the world community of nations, and that far from assuring Israeli security and acceptance by other nations, the Begin policies are a threat to both. We have

Beirut and other Lebanese cities have suffered many thousands of civilian casualties as the result of Israeli bombings.



argued this point repeatedly over the past several years, just as we have argued that American Jewish leaders who support Begin's policies and actions do not represent the best interests of Jews either in the United States or in Israel. In this country it has quickly become clear that the Reagan administration supports Begin's goals in this war, but, much more significantly, it is also quickly becoming clear that there is a growing opposition to current Israeli policies—an opposition that could easily undermine the American commitment to Israel.

This was reflected between Begin and 36 senators at a June 22 meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, described by the *New York Times* as characterized by bitter exchanges. Sen. Paul E. Tsongas (D-Mass.) said he has never seen such an angry session with a

Preventing Palestinian autonomy on the West Bank is the true aim.

foreign head of state, and that "there is a lot of concern among those who are supporters of Israel that their policies are in excess." Support for Israel in this country, he added, "is eroding." (Tsongas was particularly upset over reports that cluster bombs, which release hundreds of steel pellets that kill and maim, and which were supplied to Israel by the U.S. for defensive use only, were used against civilians in Lebanon.) Of the 36 senators present, only three, Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York and Republicans S.I. Hayakawa of California and Rudy Boschwitz of Minnesota, defended Israel's actions.

There are two dimensions to Israel's current policies in regard to the Palestinians. The one most prominent now is that of the morality of the war and of the genocidal attitude of Begin and his allies toward the Palestinians. That issue is beginning seriously to divide Israelis and to unite Europeans and Third World peoples in opposition to Israel. And it is beginning also to divide Americans.

We strongly condemn the invasion, and the attitude that sees the Palestinian people's desire for their own homeland as the crazed notion of terrorists, but we know that an argument based solely on morality will make little headway among American Zionists. Perhaps more persuasive is the fact that the Begin policies must in the end be self-defeating, and that in reality they are much more damaging to Israel and to Jews in all nations than a policy that recognizes the right of Palestinians to their own homeland on the West Bank and the right to choose for themselves who will represent them.

We believe, not because we have any preference but on the basis of overwhelming evidence, that the PLO is supported by the vast majority of Palestinians. That being so, the only path to peace in the Middle East is a policy that seeks ways to reduce tensions between the PLO and the state of Israel with the goal of mutual recognition and respect. The policy now being pursued can only mean interminable war and ultimate disaster for all concerned.

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

LONGEST STRIKE

ERIC LIEF DAVIN AND JOSEPH WHITE write that the WABCO strike (ITT, May 26) "going into its seventh month, is both the longest and largest current strike in the country." It is the largest, but not the longest. On October 18 of last year 1,600 machinists and maintenance and clerical workers at Brown & Sharpe Manufacturing in North Kingstown and North Providence, R.I., went on strike. The strike is now seven months old and is both the longest current strike in the nation and for the firm's 149-year history.

On March 22, the strike made national news when pepper gas was used to disperse workers by police. The strike, because of its numerous confrontations and clashes with police, has led many observers to comment on the similarity of police action used against workers in the '30s. As with WABCO, the Brown & Sharpe company has also engaged in union-busting, the company has openly advertised for replacement workers in the anti-labor *Providence Journal*. The company has consistently failed to bargain in good faith, in a climate where labor is the opprobrium of all that is economically wrong in this nation, the need is now greater to remember that Solidarity begins at home. "The Smallest State in the Union" can boast of having the longest strike currently in the nation and maybe of altering their new slogan to "The Smallest State in Union-Busting."

—Raymond Holmbeck
Johnston, R.I.

A FACTORY OF THEIR OWN

DAVID MOBERG'S ARTICLE ON WORKER ownership of A&P in Philadelphia (ITT, June 2) was on target. The efforts of the United Food and Commercial Workers there to set up a series of worker-owned cooperatives is an important step. While this is the first union-initiated effort to set up a series of worker-owned companies, it represents a trend among unions.

Until recently, unions have generally been hostile or indifferent to employee ownership. They have, correctly, seen many employee ownership plans, especially employee stock ownership plans (ESOPs), as management tools that offered little to workers. Cooperatives were generally seen as simply not feasible on a large scale. A few local unions, however, have seen opportunities for themselves in these plans (especially ESOPs). Instead of letting management take the lead, they have seized the initiative. At Rath Packing Company workers set up an ESOP to buy 60 percent of the company and provide them with 10 of the 17 seats on the board. Each worker has one vote. At the 11,000 employee Weirton Steel Co., a division of National Steel, the union is taking the lead in negotiating an employee buyout, and is insisting on a substantial role for the employees in the new company. At Pan Am, unions refused to take a pay cut unless they received a significant share of the company and representation on the board in return. They got both.

These efforts have spurred increasing interest at the national level. National unions are now taking a more "case-by-

case" approach as they realize that worker ownership can be used to their advantage. While union efforts are still limited to distressed company situations, that could change if unions see this as an effective tool.

—Corey Rosen
Executive Director, National Center
for Employee Ownership
Arlington, Va.

A POSSIBILITY

WHILE VISITING IN NEW YORK CITY for the June 12th Rally, I truly did "find it," as your enclosed sub card states. If such a thing is possible, you are an answer to many of my prayers. Thank you for being!

Enclosed is my check for a beginning subscription of 22 issues.

—Helen McAllister
Medina, N.Y.

PLO

SHELDON RANZ'S LETTER (ITT, MAY 26)—itself a reply to Mitchell Kaidy—leads me to make the following observations:

Undoubtedly there are "unrepresentative elements" who seek to take over the PLO, but Arafat remains the respected leader among Palestinians. The PLO represents the majority of Palestinians in their interest for a state or, at the least, autonomous home rule. The latter is apparently not possible under Israeli rule.

More important, Ranz believes that the PLO is not socialist and that Arafat being a nationalist has something to do with this. But it has no bearing on the question of PLO socialism. Of course, Arafat is a nationalist: He and the Palestinians want their land back.

More to the point is the fact that workers manage and control the PLO factory organizations. Except for the agricultural sector, does anything like this exist in Israel? The answer, of course, is no. Ranz's citation of the existence of legal trade unions, democratic elections, a Communist Party does not make Israel socialist or even on the way to socialism.

Lastly, Ranz's claim that anti-Semitism prompted Kaidy to make his remarks is ridiculous. One can be opposed to Israeli policy toward its non-Jewish peoples, and one can even be for the policies of the PLO, without being anti-Semitic.

—Michael H. Prosch
Saratoga Springs, N.Y.

FAMILY FARMS

KEN METER'S "GRAINS OF WRATH" (ITT, May 26) was an excellent analysis of the credit crunch facing tens of thousands of American farmers and the complicity of the Farmers' Home Administration in precipitating thousands of farm bankruptcies in 1980-82.

But Meter's solid article fails in its lack of a broader context—the big picture of capitalist agriculture's dynamics. We get a sense of why the U.S. Department of Agriculture under Secretary Block would see an explosion of farm bankruptcies as natural and desirable and why NFO farmers would disagree. But we do not get a larger sense of how chronic tendencies, like overproduction, depressed farm prices and

steadily escalating input costs, interact with the immediate conditions of extraordinary high real interest rates and debt repayment obligations to create yet another crisis that accelerates the concentration of capital in agriculture.

Discussion of agrarian strategy should point out the limits of narrow traditional populist demands and address the contradictions visible in family-based agriculture, such as exploitative production relations (e.g., treatment of farm women, children and hired workers) and the speculative and ecologically destructive treatment of farm land as a commodity. American socialists, particularly those of us attracted to small scale, community-based organization of production, must ask whether these "blemishes" will disappear when we succeed in rescinding the laws of competition that confront family farmers and eliminating the monopoly power of agribusiness.

For the sake of provoking thought and debate, here are four cornerstones of a socialist agrarian agenda for the '80s: (1) Initiate actions that will ultimately eliminate the speculative market in farm land and the freedom of land users to deplete soil resources. (2) Foster the formation of cooperatives and the elimination of private capital and competitive market relations throughout the system of food production and distribution. (3) Destroy the monopoly power of agribusiness in technology creation, input supply and the food distribution system. (4) Redirect all public policy toward agriculture to accord with the basic principle of sustainability (social, economic, ecological).

—David Vail
Bowdoin College
Brunswick, Maine

SANDINISTAS

CRAIG NELSON'S ARTICLE (ITT, APRIL 28) was thoughtful, informative and accurate on the U.S. program to destabilize the Sandinista revolution. In exposing the "dirty" war that has attempted to recruit and arm Miskitu Indians on the Honduran border, Nelson does not mention the Sandinista initiatives on indigenous rights. Not the least of the objectives of anti-Sandinista propaganda is to keep Indians and other minorities in the Americas from looking to the Nicaraguan revolution as fighting against racism and discrimination.

Sandinista leaders implemented educational campaigns directed toward the Pacific zone Mestizos and programs

for the Atlantic Coast indigenous communities through the Ministries of Culture, Education, and Agrarian Reform. INNICA, the Ministry for the Atlantic Coast, was established to coordinate all programs. The Council of State includes indigenous representation. The 1980 literacy campaign was carried out in the indigenous mother tongues (Miskitu, Sumu, English), and by law indigenous languages are used in local schools, with Spanish added as a second language in the fourth grade. Indigenous land rights are recognized by the government.

The Sandinistas went beyond embracing the local indigenous movement and initiated the "Indigenous University of the Americas," in November 1980, with campuses in Monimbo and Bluefields. Nicaragua is the first (and only) government to respond to the 1977 International Indigenous Conference in Geneva in its request for governments and organizations to declare October 12 ("Columbus Day") "International Day of Solidarity and Mourning for the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas." In October the first annual festival commemorating the Day will be held in Bluefields.

The new bilingual quarterly, *Indigenous World/El Mundo Indigena*, focuses on Central America, and publishes materials from Nicaragua on the indigenous programs.

—Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz
California State University, Hayward

EYE OPENER

I AM WRITING (AND ORDERING A SUBSCRIPTION!) because *In These Times* was the first newspaper that I ever read that gave a complete background to a current news story. Thanks to you, I can read other papers and understand what is going on (and what is not being said).

Please continue the good work! I would like to see some articles following up on nations such as Tanzania and Cuba that have undergone radical political change. In this vein was the Zimbabwe article (ITT, May 19).

Sometimes we fail to note the consequences of such a fundamental change in political culture, losing interest in it after the excitement is over.

—Daphne Powell
New York

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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PERSPECTIVES

Giorgio Napolitano talks about the PCI

By Larry Garner & Bob Leonardi

GIORGIO NAPOLITANO, leader of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) parliamentary delegation and a member of the Party's secretariat, was recently in Chicago as part of a tour of American cities and universities. The following interview was conducted by Larry Garner and Bob Leonardi at De Paul University, where they teach political science.

Would you say last December's "break" with the Soviet Union over Poland represents a historic turning point for the PCI?

Time will tell. We are convinced that the positions we took are part of a long process of critical reflection by our party. But there is a new development. You can sum it up in our formula that "the October Revolution of 1917 has exhausted its forward motion."

That expression, used by Enrico Berlinguer [the Party's secretary-general] and subsequently inserted in the Party's resolution of Dec. 30 on the Polish crisis, means that the phase during which the Soviet Union and the impact of the October Revolution played a fundamental role in the development of the Communist revolutionary movement in the world is over. Discussion had already begun within the PCI in 1956, after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and Khrushchev's secret report, when the degenerations of Stalinists came to the surface. More than any other Communist party in the world, PCI tried to understand the roots and the causes of the Stalinist degenerations, and also tried to point the way toward a new path of development for the socialist experience in the Soviet Union and in the struggle for socialism all over the world.

You mean that it wasn't just a problem of the "cult of personality," that there were structural reasons for the degeneration?

We were not convinced by Khrushchev's simplified explanations. But for several years we thought a process of renewal was going on in the Soviet Union under his leadership, a process of democratization, reform in economic organization and party organization and also the international initiative for peaceful co-existence. Even after Khrushchev's replacement, the Soviet Union was attractive to many people in the world and to many political movements because of its support for some national liberation movements, in particular for the struggle of the Vietnamese people against American aggression. During the '60s and the early '70s, the Soviet Union was a great power supporting the heroic struggle of a small nation resisting the aggression of the other super power. That is why we could not have arrived then at the conclusion we arrived at in the past few months.

Over the years we have seen some very negative turning points. First, 1968 and the military intervention in Czechoslovakia, which demonstrated a terrible reluctance of the Soviets to accept economic and political reforms in Eastern Europe. A second turning point was the emergence of new orientations in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union after the U.S. defeat in Vietnam. The Soviet Union began trying to win new positions of influence in various regions of the world, and there was a gradual ascendancy of ele-

ments of militarization and of elements of a great-power logic in Soviet foreign policy. Third, there was the Polish crisis, which was the consequence of resistance to reforms and democratization.

Was there also an internal element at work inside the PCI—the passing from the scene of generations of party members who were more or less uncritical of the Soviet Union?

I don't agree that the Soviet Union was the object of uncritical admiration after 1956. After then we can say that the myth of the Soviet Union as a workers' paradise was abandoned by us. Our critical stance was accentuated beginning with 1968 and then during the '70s, when it became clear that a process of stagnation and regression had set in in the Soviet Un-



"The October Revolution of 1917 has exhausted its forward motion," says Enrico Berlinguer, Italian Communist Party secretary-general.

ion. We deepened our critical analysis of the Soviet economy, Soviet society and the Soviet political regime. There was a steady development, both in the Soviet reality and policy and in our analysis.

What does this change in your relations with the Soviet Union mean concretely?

We are absolutely opposed to any world conferences of Communist parties or to all-European conferences of Communist parties. We didn't even take part in the conference promoted in 1980 by the Polish and French Communist Parties in Paris after the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. And in 1969 when we took part in the last world conference of Communist parties, we voted against three of the four chapters of the final document. Relations between most Communist parties should be bilateral, based on equality and mutual respect.

Do you think the PCI will eventually conclude that the Soviet Union is not socialist?

The problem is not how to define the Soviet Union. The Soviets use the definition, "real socialism," but the point is that they mean theirs is the only possible type of socialism. This is what matters to us. We cannot identify socialism, its ideals and values, with Soviet reality. Of course, you can find achievements in the Soviet Union consistent with the principles or ideals of socialism, but there are other things that have nothing to do with Socialist principles or ideals. The great task facing socialists in Europe is to demonstrate the possibility of a democratic road to socialism, with full respect for individual and collective freedoms.

How does the PCI line up in the international arena?

We reject the logic of dividing the world into two blocs, which, according to some people, are to be regarded not only as military and political, but also as ideological. The question for the PCI is not to choose one side or the other. Ten years ago we changed our position on the question of whether Italy should withdraw from NATO. We concluded then that relations between East and West had become so complex and dangerous that any unilateral withdrawal either from the Atlantic Alliance or from the Warsaw Pact would alter the balance of power between the two blocs and would not serve the cause of detente and not even the cause of a gradual overcoming of both military blocs.

We also intend freely to judge international events and the general development of the world situation. That's why we condemned Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan, the military coup in Poland last December and the Soviet attitude toward Poland since the summer of 1980. We also criticized the Soviet Union in December 1979 for not being sensitive to the exigency for a moratorium on the construction and deployment of SS-20 missiles in Europe, for the acceptance of such an idea they could have obviated the NATO decision. And we opposed the NATO decision to deploy the Cruise and Pershing II missiles, as well as the Reagan administration's massive program of rearmament and its positions on Central America, particularly in El Salvador.

In this country the press has portrayed the peace movement as a tool of the PCI.

The PCI is a very important component of the peace movement in Italy, but the peace movement in Italy cannot be identified completely with the Communist Party. Even less can the peace movement be identified with Communist parties in Western Germany, Holland, the Scandinavian countries or in Great Britain. Everyone knows that in these countries the influence of Communist parties is minimal. In Italy, of course, things are different because the Italian Communist Party is a powerful political organization. After the government's decision to start building a missile base in Sicily, and after the announcement of the U.S. administration to produce the neutron bomb, we Italian Communists organized demonstrations and made clear our own positions. But there is also an independent trade union and Catholic organizations as well as various political and social groups. The Italian peace movement does not have a one-sided approach to detente, to peace, or to the question of nuclear war.

What are the prospects of the PCI coming to power in Italy today?

The problem for us is not how to enter the government, but how to consolidate and develop democracy, insuring the possibility of a substantial change in the political leadership of our country. Of course, Communist participation in the cabinet is an important aspect of this question. There has been a major debate on the historic compromise strategy, which was an ambitious and long-term strategy, and the experience between 1976 and the beginning of 1979 when we collaborated with the Christian Democrats, with the Socialists and with other parties in the Italian Parliament. That experience led us to the conclusion that we must struggle for a clear alternative to Christian Democratic governments, for an alternative of the left.

Enrico Berlinguer has said that the PCI remains committed to transforming Italian society in a socialist direction, and yet left critics of the Party say that your overall strategy is indistinguishable from the patchwork reformism of social democratic parties.

First, you cannot equate all socialist and social democratic parties. For instance, the leaders of the Socialist Party in France say they want to overcome capitalism. In any case, it is not only a matter of ideological positions and of general assumptions. Several socialist and social democratic parties now realize that the old patchwork reformism and purely Keynesian economic policies cannot work anymore. There has been a crisis in the welfare state and, in some European countries, a fiscal crisis of the state. There has been rampant inflation, a change in the relations with the oil-producing countries and new changes are taking place in the international division of labor. All that makes it impossible to follow the old ways of the socialist and social democratic parties. And in fact, the victory of conservative forces in Great Britain or in Sweden cannot be explained apart from a serious consideration of such a crisis in the old strategies and government policies of the socialist and social democratic parties. They were not able to solve the crisis that has struck the capitalist economies, and the conservative forces were able to

Continued on the facing page

PERSPECTIVES

S-391 protects illegal activities

By John Stockwell

NEARLY EVERY NEWS-paper in the land decried last summer's Supreme Court *Agee vs. Haig* passport decision, and well they should, for it was an abominable decision, carelessly argued, that defied the Congress' legislative intent that American citizens should have the right to free travel—a hallmark of free societies. It gave the Secretary of State authority to confiscate any American's passport without even a prior hearing, a power ominously typical of autocracies.

What everyone has seemed to overlook was that the *Agee/Haig* decision was but another round in the national security complex's assault on the individual freedoms originally guaranteed by our Constitution, its amendments, and the Bill of Rights.

The CIA and its sister agencies have been lobbying for three decades for legislation that would protect it from the scrutiny and interference of a free press and citizenry. Only in recent years has it begun to make concrete gains, but the score now stands at three strikes against the people: The clincher passed through Congress by votes of 354-56 in the House and 90-6 in the Senate.

Strike one was the decision in which Frank Snepp was fined \$140,000, the amount of the proceeds of his book, *Decent interval*, about the CIA's contemptible conduct in the 1975 withdrawal from Vietnam. The government did not accuse Snepp of exposing secrets or secret agents. Snepp was punished, vindictively,

for exposing an unsavory episode of CIA bungling. And the CIA scored a major gain in its struggle against the peoples' bothersome freedoms.

Incredible as it may seem, the evidence the State Department presented in court to defend its revocation of Philip Agee's passport was a flagrantly inflammatory, defamatory and totally inaccurate headline article of the *New York Post* that proclaimed: "CIA Traitor to Judge Hostages." In fact, Agee had publicly denounced the taking of hostages, but the *Agee-Haig* decision is now part of the law of this land. Its scope is breathtaking. Future journalists' freedom to investigate a dubious aspect of a Vietnam-like war, something like My Lai, will depend on the arbitrary cooperation of the Executive controlling their passports. *Strike two.*

S-391.

But the *Agee-Haig* decision pales by comparison with the Intelligence Identities Protection Act, S-391. Riding on a smokescreen of superficial, misguided patriotism, this bill is, the CIA claims, necessary to protect the identities of its secret agents who are risking their lives defending our national security out in the cold world—an argument that is a patent though potent fraud. The first book by a CIA insider, *The Craft of Intelligence*, by CIA director Allen Dulles, elaborated a principle that intelligence officers are most effective when any interested party can readily identify them as what they are. To this date CIA officers serving abroad make it a showy point to be known as such—a simple reality of the business.

Over the past six years approximately 2,500-3,000 names of CIA operatives

have been published, 250 by Agee himself, and the rest by various books, magazines and journals, including such prominent newspapers as the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, in the course of legitimate news coverage (such as the 1979 reporting of CIA agent Regis Blahut's illegal entry into the Senate assassination committee's safes to tamper with evidence). The CIA itself has revealed hundreds of secret agents' names to establish *bonafides* for other secret agents penetrating radical groups. Eighty-five percent or more of the 3,000 names thus far revealed were already publicly documented in the Library of Congress as CIA agents, and many others were "advertised" as CIA in the communities where they served, in accordance with the Dulles principle.

To support its arguments in its decision against Agee, the Supreme Court carelessly cites the names of three agents who have been killed. The first, Richard Welch, was a flagrant example of the Dulles principle, living in the same villa in Athens as several generations of his predecessors, all of whom no doubt had been involved in myriad explosive Middle Eastern situations. Not even Admiral Stansfield Turner (CIA director, 1977-1981) would claim when questioned publicly that Mr. Welch's death had anything to do with his name having been published.

The other two agents cited by the court were killed in El Salvador. No evidence is given to substantiate that their deaths had anything to do with the publication of their names, but the U.S. government's deep involvement in Central America's bloodiest, bitterest war is a well publicized fact. According to our Senate's published reports, the first round of victims of CIA covert actions about the world total several hundred thousand dead, and the people killed in the aftermaths of CIA actions—in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos—number in the millions. And yet, the CIA maintains a small plaque in the public foyer of its headquarters at Langley, Va., listing those agents killed in the line of duty—*less than 40 names*, reflecting what must be the best "body count ratio" in the history of the world.

The national security complex's sensitivity on the issue of published names is two-fold. First, having people publish names of its agents, even if they are already well known in the communities where they work, is a galling effrontery. Second, secrecy is a domestic issue. The overseas victims invariably know they are under attack (vis the bloody secret war on Cuba in the '60s, the secret war in Angola in 1975-76, the bombing of Cambodia), but they are generally helpless to stop the assault at its source, Washington. The American people do have the power to bring such covert aggressions to a halt, as they eventually did in Cuba, Cambodia

and Angola. Hence the national security complex's determination to obtain legislation that will permit it to keep its activities secret from the American people.

And so the Intelligence Identities Protection Act, S-391, is so broadly worded that it will enable our government to conceal not only agents' identities, but also their activities—legitimate, controversial, debatable, illegal and often cruel as they have been—from public scrutiny. *Strike three!*

In an age when people are struggling in every corner of the globe for greater freedom, we are yielding to the CIA, a tainted, flawed, corrupt, arrogant, violent organization, the sacred freedoms of speech, of the press, of travel, the right of any American to stand and participate in our government process by openly debating its policies. The day the Intelligence Identities Protection Act was signed into law marked the end of the U.S.' 200-year experiment in guaranteed individual freedoms, and inaugurated a new era in which the rights of our secret police supercede those of the people. This may have been the saddest day in our nation's history.

John R. Stockwell, a former Marine major, was a colonel equivalent in the CIA in Angola. He quit in 1977 to write In Search of Enemies.

PCI

Continued from page 16

create the illusion of another solution. That's why we think there is a possibility of convergence between our search for a third path to socialism (i.e., neither the Soviet model nor a repetition of old social democratic policies) and the search for new directions imposed by the situation on various socialist and social democratic parties.

But what is the connection between the present program that the Party supports and that long-run commitment to socialism?

In our history and in our strategy we have never accepted the idea of two completely separate phases, a phase of purely democratic reforms and a phase of socialist change. When we spoke almost 40 years ago of the possibility of introducing a progressive democracy in Italy, we thought there could be a continuity between democratic development and socialist change. The same assumption is valid today. We have also spoken recently of the introduction of elements of socialism as a way to link the effort to overcome the present crisis of capitalist economies and the prospect of implementing the goals and values of socialism. One important element of socialism is the introduction of various forms of rational, social control over the overall development of the economy and society, in particular over investment and the accumulation process. But I think also of other forms of initiative and control, i.e., grassroots control of public expenditure, on the satisfaction of social needs. Socialism should be a collective consciousness of these needs and a collective effort to solve them, putting under public control the use of resources.

The people of El Salvador need more than kind words.

American tax money is being poured into El Salvador on the wrong side of the war.

To counteract it, a committee of trade union activists and labor educators has started a Matching Fund for El Salvador.

While we keep working to change U.S. policy, we're raising money for medical supplies that can be sent right now to aid the victims of the war.

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The donations we raise are being channeled to the Salvadoran opposition forces through Medical Aid for El Salvador, the committee headed by Screen Actors Guild President Ed Asner.

All time and expenses for our effort are donated.

For information, contact the Solidarity International Matching Fund. Donations should be made payable to Medical Aid for El Salvador.

A labor-oriented, reproducible fact-sheet, *Central America: What Are Working People Fighting For?*, is available for \$1 from the same address.

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INPRINT

NUCLEAR ISSUES

Who will be left if we win the war?

Life after Nuclear War
By Arthur M. Katz
Ballinger, 452 pp., \$35.

The Final Epidemic
Ruth Adams and Susan Cullen, eds.
Educational Foundation for Nuclear Science, c/o Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, 1020 E. 58th St., Chicago, IL 60637, 254 pp., \$4.95

By Robert M. Nelson

As the antinuclear and disarmament movement grows, so does the literature it badly needs. Two recent books provide excellent, if terrifying, information for those who ask, "Could we survive a nuclear war?"

In one of the best volumes of the last two decades' scholarship on the effects of nuclear weapons, Katz has gathered material from a wide variety of primary sources, including military documents, congressional studies and independent research in universities.

Katz distinguishes between the survival of individuals and the survival of society. Individuals might survive the near term effects of a nuclear war but the prospects for the survival of a society, according to Katz, are dismal—even for a so-called "limited nuclear war."

Considering first limited nuclear war—involving attacks only on military facilities and not cities—Katz reports that the immediate effects would be 7-15 million fatalities and 10-20 million severe injuries. But this is only the beginning of the problem. For example, the fallout pattern from an attack on military bases in the Midwest would extend eastward to the Atlantic Ocean. The agricultural areas affected would include 62 percent of the wheat, 79 percent of the corn, 49 percent of the sorghum, 60 percent of the oats and 70 percent of the soybean crops normally under cultivation in the U.S. Medical care for the survivors would be limited. Assuming all the hospitals survive, the injured would number 15-30 per bed.

A limited nuclear war becomes a social disaster of unparalleled proportions. Consider that three years ago, a 20 percent cutback in gasoline deliveries by a single major oil company brought the state of California to its knees. Then consider the social impact of an economic loss several thousandfold greater in size.

Katz also studies the impact of an all-out nuclear war, with the 50 largest cities and their environs as targets. Immediate deaths would be between 120-160 million. The entire social infrastructure would be destroyed, including 90 percent of the petroleum

refining capacity, 74 percent of the natural gas pipeline capacity and 45 percent of the electrical generating capacity, not including the electrical distribution network. Without fertilizer, the crop yields would fall by 50 percent on the farmland that remains.

What does it mean to survive a nuclear war? It seems analogous to a human body whose physical processes at a cellular level cling to life on a resuscitator while the brain waves have long since gone flat. The collective purpose for the existence of those cells has died.

The irony of reading *Life after Nuclear War* is that even a detailed study is incomplete. For every social factor explored by Katz, 10 more come to mind. The conclusion is inescapable. The only civil defense for a nuclear war is prevention.

Beyond medical help.

This conclusion is emphasized in *The Final Epidemic*, a collection of papers presented at one of the symposia organized by Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) with other groups.

The list of contributors reads like a who's who in the scientific community. Psychiatrists speak not only of problems should a war occur, but also of the psychological effects of living in a society constantly preparing for war. Yale University's Robert J. Lifton discusses his concept of psychic numbing—the diminished capacity to feel the experience of an overwhelming encounter with death. This effect is one of the

greatest barriers to be overcome in trying to educate the public on the problem of nuclear war. Harvard's John E. Mack, describing a survey of Boston area school system students, argues that the nuclear war threat has caused a generation of young people to be unable to make long-term commitments. They "are given over, of necessity, to doctrines of impulsiveness and immediacy in their personal relationships or choice of behaviors and activity."

Patricia J. Lindop of the Medical College of London and Joseph Rotblat of the University of London discuss choices facing a physician after nuclear war. The primary cause of death from radiation exposure is alteration in blood from damage to bone marrow and lymphatic tissues. Death usually results from infection. Many symptoms such as anorexia, vomiting and malaise are also associated with emotional stress, and diagnosis would be difficult.

In clear weather a thermonuclear weapon explosion can cause second and third degree burns of exposed human skin on people

who would otherwise be only slightly injured by the blast. John Constable of the Harvard Medical School reports that both second and third degree burns would require immediate treatment. Furthermore, any simultaneous exposure to ionizing radiation from fallout would reduce the victim's ability to resist infection, again raising the question of which survivors should be treated. He notes that full treatment of a single severe surviving burn case in the burn center today costs between \$200,000 and \$400,000.

In the first few weeks following a nuclear war, infectious diseases would spread like wildfire. Herbert Abrams of Harvard Medical School suggests that because people are not often exposed to these diseases, their lack of protective antibodies would

Some people will survive, but not society.

Officials survey devastated Hiroshima in August 1945.



The cost of courting the unfriendly atom

Killing Our Own: The Disaster of America's Experience with Atomic Radiation

By Harvey Wasserman and Norman Solomon, with Robert Alvarez and Eleanor Walters
Delacorte Press, 269 pp., \$19.95

By McKinley Olson

This is one of the best books yet on the dangers of man-made radiation. It's easy to read and to understand and the pace is brisk.

Killing Our Own focuses on Americans whose lives have been grossly disturbed, and often devastated by their encounters with the unfriendly atom. These include thousands of American servicemen, ranchers and farmers, housewives, Indians, children, students and movie stars.

Every time we find a victim, we seem to encounter our government. According to *Killing Our Own*, it has consistently tried to downplay the dangers of radiation—in particular low-level radiation, especially the kind

that can wind up in our bodies to launch a murderous internal attack upon our cells. And it has belittled and punished those who have tried to warn the public about these dangers—notably in regard to nuclear weapons and nuclear power.

During World War II ignorance could have caused our government to disregard the dangers of radiation. But as more information became available, a pattern of deceit emerges on the part of those determined to press ahead with nuclear weapons development and testing—and this includes every president from Truman to Reagan. Apparently fearing that information about the dangers of nuclear radiation might mobilize public opinion against the nuclear arms race, our government has compiled a consistent record of white-washing these dangers, from radioactive gadgets such as smoke detectors to contaminated soil and water.

Wasserman and Solomon take us back to the beginning, to establish the role of our government

in the development of the nuclear umbrella that now hovers so threateningly over our world. Within a month after the bombs fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, American military inspection teams in Japan were reporting that "radioactive materials was [sic] found to be below the hazardous limits."

Within 45 days after the atomic bomb fell on Nagasaki, the first American servicemen arrived to begin clean-up operations. One of them was a young Marine corporal named Lyman Quigley. He did not receive any warnings or special instructions about radiation. There is every reason to believe that their water, food and working conditions were contaminated by radiation.

When Quigley was sent back to the U.S., he complained about "burning, itching, running sores on the top of my head and the top of my ears." Military physicians told him he had a "fungus." Before long Quigley began to suffer abdominal pains. His appendix was removed. Stomach

make large numbers of the surviving population susceptible to such scourges of past civilizations as plague and tuberculosis. Close confinement in fallout shelters would accelerate the spread of infection.

Insects, more resistant to ionizing radiation than mammals, would multiply rapidly after a nuclear attack. The dead animal population would provide ample food supply.

One of the most important observations in this book comes from a Soviet contributor, Evgeni I. Chazov, cardiologist and Deputy Minister of Health in the USSR. He reports that the World Health Organization eradicated smallpox in 10 years with a total budget of \$83 million. A similar program to eradicate malaria would cost approximately \$450 million. This is less than one-half of what is spent throughout the world on arms every day—a third of the cost of a single Trident submarine.

The Last Epidemic is eloquent testimony that after a nuclear war scientists can do nothing to ameliorate the circumstances. They can only contribute now, before it happens.

Robert M. Nelson, a California astrophysicist, is co-chair of the Southern California Federation of Scientists and co-author of the report, "Nuclear War in Los Angeles."

tumors were next. His lungs hemorrhaged. Tumors were removed from his head and from his knee. He had heart attacks. Married and a father, he began to worry about the genetic fate of his children. He couldn't work and his bills—especially his medical bills—began to pile up.

Quigley turned to his government for relief. He filed a claim with the Veterans Administration (VA) for service-connected benefits, but the VA denied his claim. Government officials insisted that Quigley was unable to establish a cause and effect relationship between his exposure to radiation and his diseases.

Before a fifth heart attack killed him in 1978, Quigley contacted other Marines who had been stationed with him at Nagasaki. A disturbing number of them had been afflicted by radiation-induced diseases—by cancer, leukemia, heart trouble and premature aging. Many of these ex-servicemen had apparently passed on terrible genetic defects to their children.

Meanwhile the government's atmospheric nuclear bomb testing program was in high gear. Thousands of American servicemen were used as human guinea pigs when these atomic bombs were exploded in the Pacific and in Nevada and Utah, where thousands of civilians were also exposed to dangerously high levels of radiation.

Wasserman and Solomon take us up to and through the aftermath of the nuclear power plant accident in Pennsylvania at Three Mile Island in 1980. Here, too, the government—at both federal and state levels—has consistently denied that the public health and safety has been adversely affected by radioactive leaks and discharges from the crippled plant. But a growing body of evidence to the contrary includes reports of infant mortality rates in the area and accounts of farmers and veterinarians who contend that local animals were harmed and mutated by radiation. As Wasserman and Solomon keep pointing out, animals are often the first to exhibit the consequences of the kinds of radiation-induced damage that will appear later in humans.

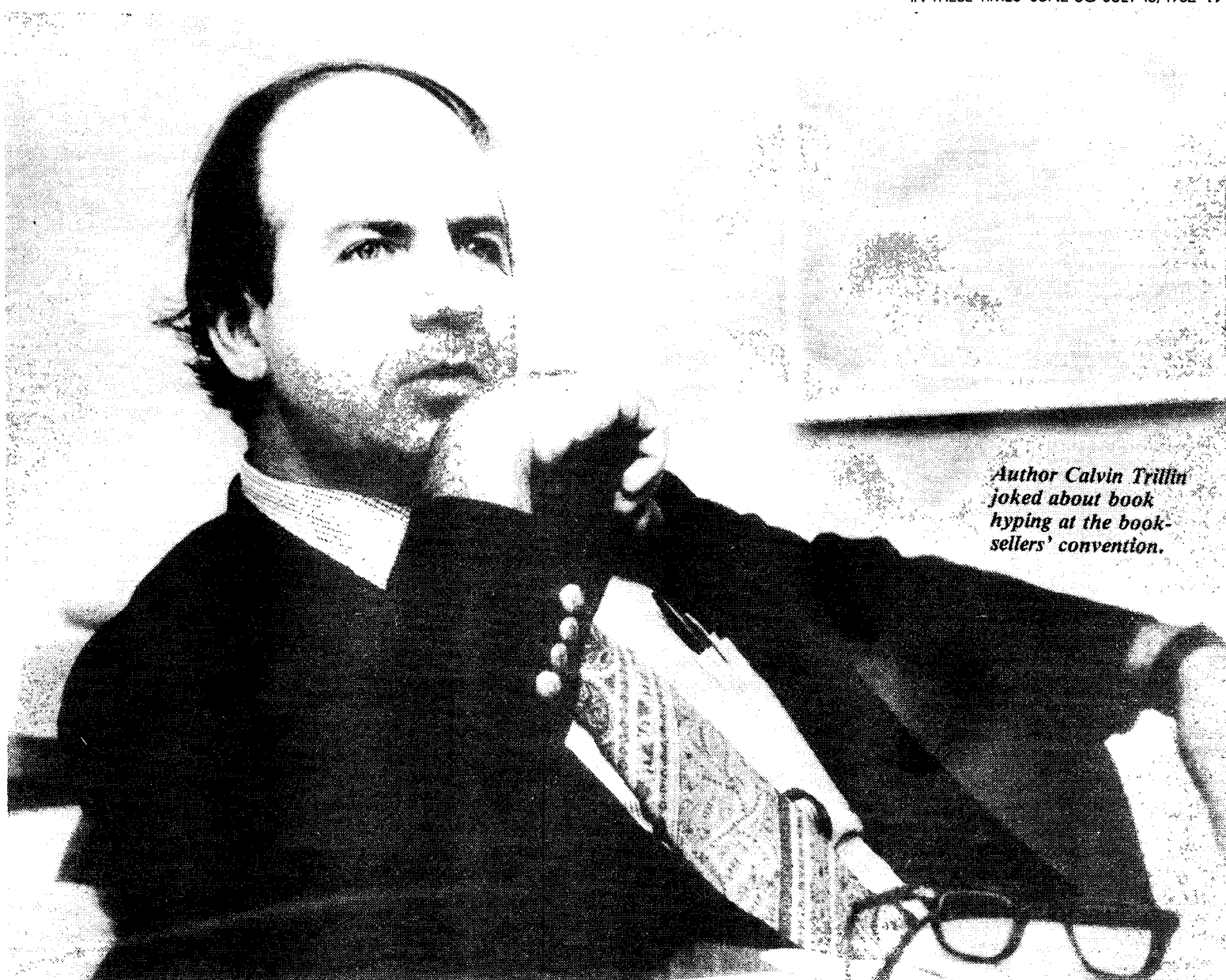
Some issues are only lightly touched on or implied in *Killing Our Own*. One is the disregard for morality on the part of our government and other promoters of nuclear power. In a section devoted to the controversy and the debate over the H-bomb, we are told that those who wanted to develop the bomb insisted that morality should and could not be an issue. Another is the impact, both direct and indirect, our death affair with nuclear power has had on our troubled economy—on inflation, high interest rates, a huge federal deficit, and growing unemployment. Still another monumental issue is the high cost of energy. How much better off would we be today if we had put our research and development money into benign and renewable sources of energy such as solar power, instead of spending the lion's share of it on the dangerous and wasteful pursuit of nuclear power to produce electricity?

I kept hoping that Wasserman and Solomon would tell us whose government this is, and who it serves. There is a passing reference to raising the "issue of corporate control over U.S. nuclear policy," but this theme is never developed.

To my knowledge, the only book in this field that addresses this is *Irrevery—An Irreverent, Illustrated View of Nuclear Power*, published in 1979 by noted physician and scientist Dr. John W. Gofman, who rightfully figures prominently in *Killing Our Own*. Gofman's book is not only the best one that I have read about nuclear power, it is also the only one that focuses on the causes of nuclear power, explaining why it was developed, and for whom, and why it still has support.

The answer, Gofman tells us, is probably as old as humanity—the desire on the part of a few for power and control over other human beings, no matter what the consequences. As the Bible and other human documents tell us, lust for greed and power has ruined many civilizations before ours. This same mad lust could prompt them to use nuclear weapons, even if it should mean the end for them, as well as for all of us.

McKinley Olson is a Chicago-based writer and the author of Unacceptable Risk and J.W. Gitt's Sweet Land of Liberty.



Author Calvin Trillin joked about book hyping at the booksellers' convention.

San Diego Tribune/Thane McIntosh

PUBLISHING

"As I mention in my book..."

By Esther Cohen

ANAHEIM, CA

I had breakfast with Ntozake Shange, Calvin Trillin and Jimmy Carter on Memorial Day. We were not alone. Two thousand of us from every wing of publishing flocked to the Grand Ballroom of the Disneyland Hotel in Anaheim. The breakfast was one activity in hundreds for the American Booksellers Association, which meets in a different city each year. This year's conference featured 1,439 display booths and 16,000 participants, from Jerry Lewis to Cherry (daughter of Pat) Boone.

My table companions reflected the conference diversity. The new owner of Devin Adair, America's oldest conservative publishing house in Old Greenwich, Conn., was resplendent in a red-print bow tie and cane. A magazine rack distributor from Bridgeport sported a large diamond pinky ring and a Carter button. There was a young man with a crew-cut who supplies American books and periodicals to South Africa. The couple dressed in matching navy blue own an Indiana bookstore.

Shange, first up, read from her new book, *Sassafrass, Cypress and Indigo*, and the story came alive at once. A highly original, rich and poetic writer, Shange created instant rapport. A roomful of hushed listeners was mesmerized by her story of a young black child observing life in the South. Several at my table wrote down the title of her book to buy it later.

Calvin Trillin (*Uncivil Liberties*) came next. Described by Shange as a modern combina-

tion of Mencken and Twain, he too had an instant bond with his listeners. Even the Devin Adair man liked him. Trillin's presence is felt not because of physical power (he is slight, bald) or his strength of voice but because of his uncanny ability to hit the nail on the head.

Nothing is too large or too small for his scrutiny. In proposing rules for the book trade, Trillin suggested "the advance for the book must be larger than the bill for the lunch at which it was discussed." "Nobody," he continued, "would be allowed to publish a book called 'How to Remove Your Own Appendix.'" In response to the volume of books on Watergate, Trillin declared that "the profits on any book by someone who was in public office and was convicted of a felony should be contributed to a special fund to send Gypsies to Harvard Business School."

Then came Jimmy Carter, author of *Keeping Faith: Memoirs of a President*. Carter didn't have instant audience rapport. He pushed his book hard, using frequent variations of the phrase, "It is in my book." While all three speakers were there to promote their titles—this is an increasingly important dimension in the book industry (imagine Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud or George Sand on Johnny Carson)—still it was unusual to see an ex-president plugging away so earnestly at it.

The Donahue connection. Getting an author media publicity today has become its own multi-million dollar business. Some authors, such as Erica Jong and Andrew Tobias, have

year-round publicists so that you don't forget them between books. Others hire professionals on the chance that their name can become a household word. One well known New York publicist charges exorbitant fees for exploring the possibility of getting an author on the Donahue show. It is generally agreed that Donahue is often the key to the success or failure of a book about almost anything. One would think, however, that Jimmy Carter is at least as well known as, say, Alexandra Penney, last season's best-selling author of *How to Make Love to a Man* and this season's best selling author of *How to Make Love to Each Other*. Even so, he repeated with a fervor once directed to global issues that he was ready to do all he could to sell his book.

Toward the beginning of his speech, Carter made a pointed reference to Trillin. "Mr. Trillin said in an early essay about me that I have the personality of an Alabama undertaker," he said. As this seemed an apt perception some in the audience were uncer-

tain as to what Carter meant by repeating it. We laughed. In his Calvin Coolidge fashion, Carter explained that he wrote the book to tell the American people what it was really like in the White House, a job he declared was more difficult than serving the American people. He seemed, however, to be trying to generate sympathy for his administration and those he claimed were mistreated within it, "to right the wrongs done to Brother Billy, Bert Lance and Hodding Carter."

With remarks such as, "Menachem Begin was the most difficult man I've ever met," or "Anwar Sadat was the best man I've ever met" left unexplained, and a wooden manner punctuated with his trademark, the inappropriate smile, he sketched a book that sounded inordinately dull.

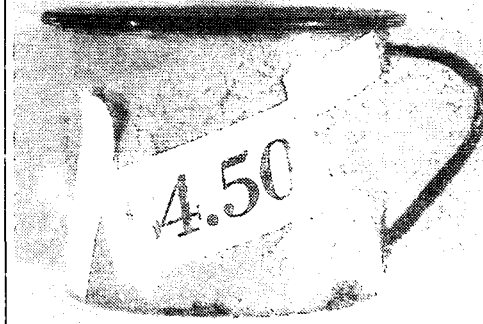
Still, Bantam, his publisher, thinks his book can sell. Will the public buy it? It may depend on whether Carter's publicist can get him on Donahue.

Esther Cohen works for the Pilgrim Press.

CULTURE SHOCK

SILVER LININGS DEPT.

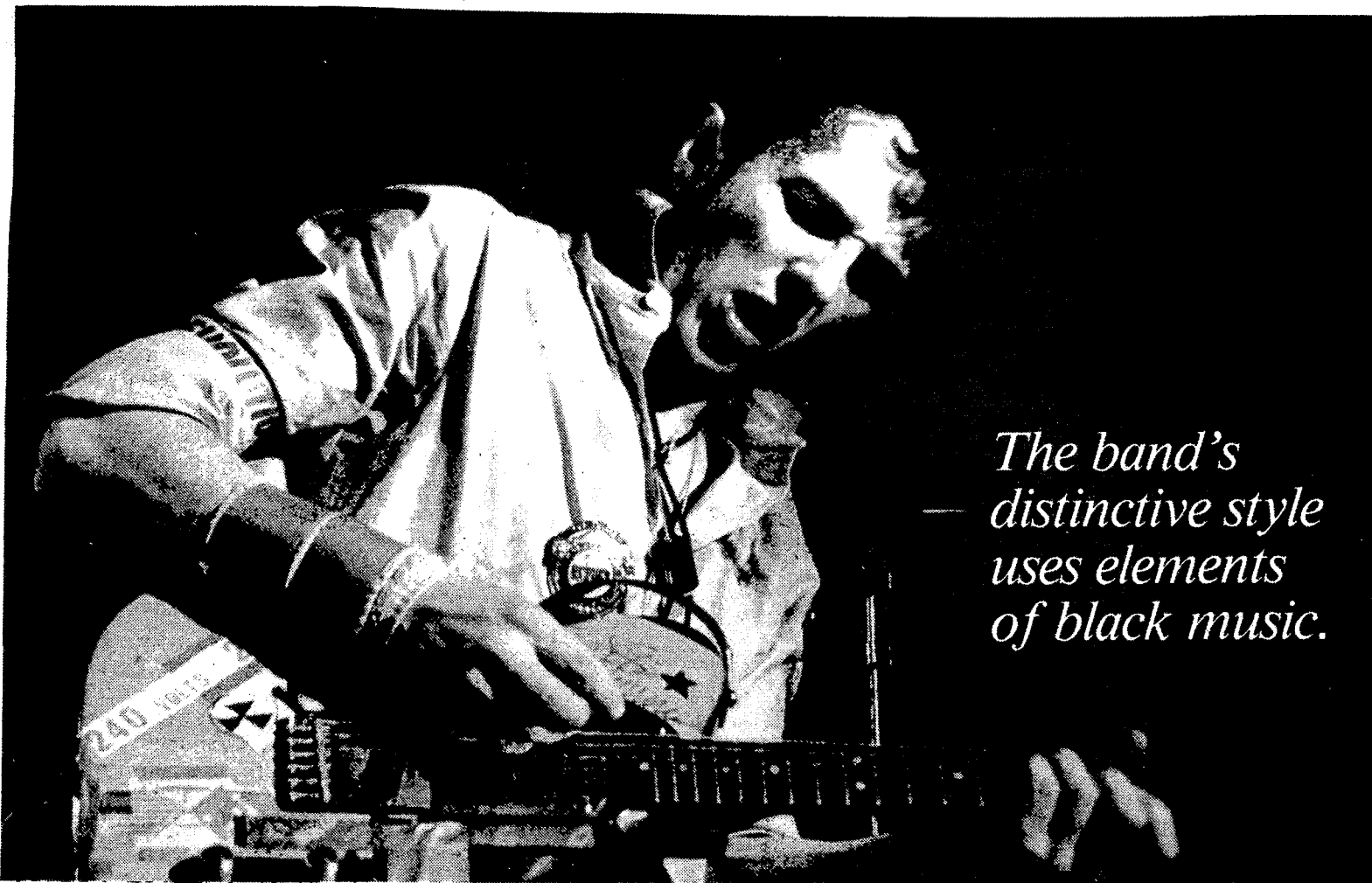
The recession has affected the price of street-sold marijuana; in Chicago the "nickel bag," \$5 worth, has returned. Among legal entrepreneurs, gardening centers are doing great business, apparently because out-of-work homeowners are fixing up their lawns.



BROTHER CAN YOU SPARE \$4.50?

A New Mexico artist is selling tin cups, aimed at a

booming new market—Reaganomics victims. Billed as "survival kits of the '80s," they are priced at \$4.50.



The Clash remain one of the few bands integrating post-punk sound with politics.

The band's distinctive style uses elements of black music.

Throughout most of the album, the rhythm of Jones' delivery carries the beat as much as any instrument. Perhaps he has learned from Allen Ginsberg, who makes a guest appearance on "Ghetto Defendent." Juxtaposed against Jones' vocals, Ginsberg recites a monotonous soliloquy that offers an apocalyptic vision of metropolis. Unfortunately, Ginsberg's deadpan recital lacks the verve of his best work. He reads as if he has been sapped of all energy, and it makes for dull listening.

Other cameo appearances also underscore the inner city theme. On "Overpowered By Funk," an energetic number that falls short of pure funk, Futura, New York City's renowned graffiti artist, takes a quick rap to explain his art: "I liven up the culture/Because I'm deadly as a culture." When Jones is not singing about urban warfare, the subjects are the Middle East, the military, death and love.

For now, the battle is in the city. And the musical style The Clash has embraced comes right off the streets of New York, where punk, funk, rap and reggae all seem to fuse together. The band has taken a quantum leap from the slam-bam style of the first Clash record. Strummer's guitar playing on "Straight to Hell" is downright ethereal. "Death Is A Star" and "Sean Flynn" display the growth in the group's musical vocabulary. On the latter, each member contributes to an impressionistic rendering of a jungle war scene—a perfect dream sequence. And *Combat Rock* boasts two obvious and powerful singles, "Should I Stay Or Should I Go?" and "Rock the Casbah," both of which hail back to *London Calling*.

Yet the album as a whole is not as exciting as *Sandinista*, *London Calling* or *The Clash*. But every album cannot be a magnum opus, and this record provides its invigorating and thoughtful moments. Perhaps because of the paucity of bands that synthesize political concerns and popular music, we are too dependent on The Clash for intelligent, stimulating music. ■ *David Corn is a New York writer whose work has appeared in The Nation, The Charlotte Observer and In These Times.*

MUSIC

The Clash fight battle fatigue

By David Corn

In the late '60s, Columbia Records proudly proclaimed in its ads, "The Revolutionaries Are On Columbia." Sure they were—and IBM is a friend of South Africa's black majority. But now, more than a decade later, The Clash are trying desperately to prove Columbia's claim true, and the record company is once again trying to cash in on the revolutionary banner.

In an ad for the new Clash album, *Combat Rock*, the Epic division of Columbia calls *Sandinista*, the group's last album, "revolutionary" and promises that *Combat Rock* was "forged in the heat of battle." Most likely, the battle was between Columbia and The Clash, who have repeatedly tried to escape from their record contract with the entertainment giant. Rhetoric aside, The Clash remain one of the few bands that addresses political concerns while producing exciting music.

Combat Rock continues the effort to integrate post-punk rock music and politics. This is no easy task, and one wonders if The Clash tire of it, because *Combat Rock* lacks the emotion and passion of *Sandinista*.

But pity The Clash. They are caught within an idiom and corporate structure that weighs against "message" music, particularly one preaching an existential brand of Marxism. And, most rock music fans don't want politically-oriented music. Punks are nihilists, new wavers are into Fiorucci fashions and most rock fans just want a beat. When The Clash played a 13-night stand last summer in New York City at Bond's, then one of the "in" spots in town, hundreds of leaflets attacking U.S. policy in El Salvador were dropped from the ceiling during each night's performance of "The Call-Up," the anti-draft anthem on *Sandinista*. Some enthusiastic fans grabbed for the falling tracts, but most of the notices ended up

on the floor, trampled by feet moving to the band's driving rhythm.

In *Combat Rock*, The Clash's fifth long-playing album, the message is less overt and the album is not nearly as musically innovative as *Sandinista*. After applying various elements of black music—reggae, funk and rap—to their punk rock foundation and experimenting with various production sounds, the band seems to have agreed on a musical style. It uses the tight-knit guitar work of Joe Strummer to dress up the central rhythm created by Paul Simonon's bass playing and Topper Headon's drumming. Still The Clash exhibit a flair usually associated with black music, a street-wise sound that owes much to the influence of the third world.

Mick Jones, with his scratchy

and often-pleading vocals, remains the band's conscience. On "Know Your Rights," the first cut on the new album, he brings his soap box out to center stage. Before the music begins, Jones announces, "This is a public service announcement with guitar." Backed up by a thin musical score with little melodic content, he then proceeds to recite the three inalienable rights—the right not to be killed, the right to food money and the right to free speech.

The music is subordinated to the speech, which is essentially cynical. You have the right not to be killed, unless it is done by a policeman or aristocrat; the right to food money, providing you do not mind a humiliating investigation; and the right to free speech, as long as you are not dumb enough to actually

try it. The Clash do not play songs about how all people are created equal. They perform songs about people who get screwed by others.

With the exception of "Know Your Rights," the political content of *Combat Rock* is more subtle than that of *London Calling* and *Sandinista*. Gone is the explicit criticism of the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Gone are the homages to revolutionaries, especially those of the third world. Instead The Clash turn toward the inner city and its economic and social decay. On "Car Jamming," Jones sings, really sings, of being caught in a traffic jam and watching wounded Vietnam vets, pushers and shabby bag people making their way down Seventh Avenue in New York City. And the lyrics take on the rhythm of a beat poem.

DOCUMENTARY FILM

Not a pretty picture

By Patricia Erens

Not a Love Story: A Film about Pornography (Quartet Films), produced by the National Film Board of Canada, has created controversy in Montreal and has been banned in Ontario. It is bound to stir up more with its June opening in the U.S.

It follows Montreal stripper Linda Lee Tracey and film director Bonnie Sherr Klein as the two explore the world of pornography—everything from adult bookshops to lunchtime copulation, from comic nude performances to sadistic peep shows. Intercut with this Dante-like voyage are interviews with people in the porn business and with feminists. Among those in the two groups are Suze Randall, a female photographer for *Hustler* magazine; David Wells, publisher of Canada's most profitable

male entertainment magazines; and feminists Kate Millett, Robin Morgan, Kathleen Barry and Susan Griffin.

The film furnishes a good deal of information—for instance, that the Canadian porn industry grosses more than five billion dollars annually and that in North America there are more hard-core peep shows than McDonald's outlets. The documentary also provides images of magazine covers, live performances and film clips. For most women and perhaps many men this may be their first exposure to such materials.

In fact this material presents one of the film's problems—it is likely to split audiences. For some the images may only be repulsive and obscene. For others the film may be a turn-on. The confusion is demonstrated by the Ontario Censor Board's decision to ban the film. Although the

filmmakers point out that all images they show are available legally or under the counter, such a statement begs the issue. As they state, "No amount of verbal description could adequately recreate the impact of the images themselves."

A second problem comes in the selection of subjects. In an effort to give voice to all sides they failed to provide a focus. Tracey expresses repeatedly her satisfaction with her work. Another sex performer tells how her job "beats being a hooker." More specious is the inclusion of Suze Randall, who as a porn photographer is an exception in a male-dominated business. To see her behind the camera encouraging Tracey to "show more pussy" creates a mixed message indeed.

Contrasted with these voices are academics and agitators, most of whom sound pedantic

and distant from the problem, except for Robin Morgan whose tears provoke a sense of her felt invasion. None offer positive solutions or address themselves to the question of healthy fantasies. Implied is an entire restructuring of society, but this provides little immediate solace.

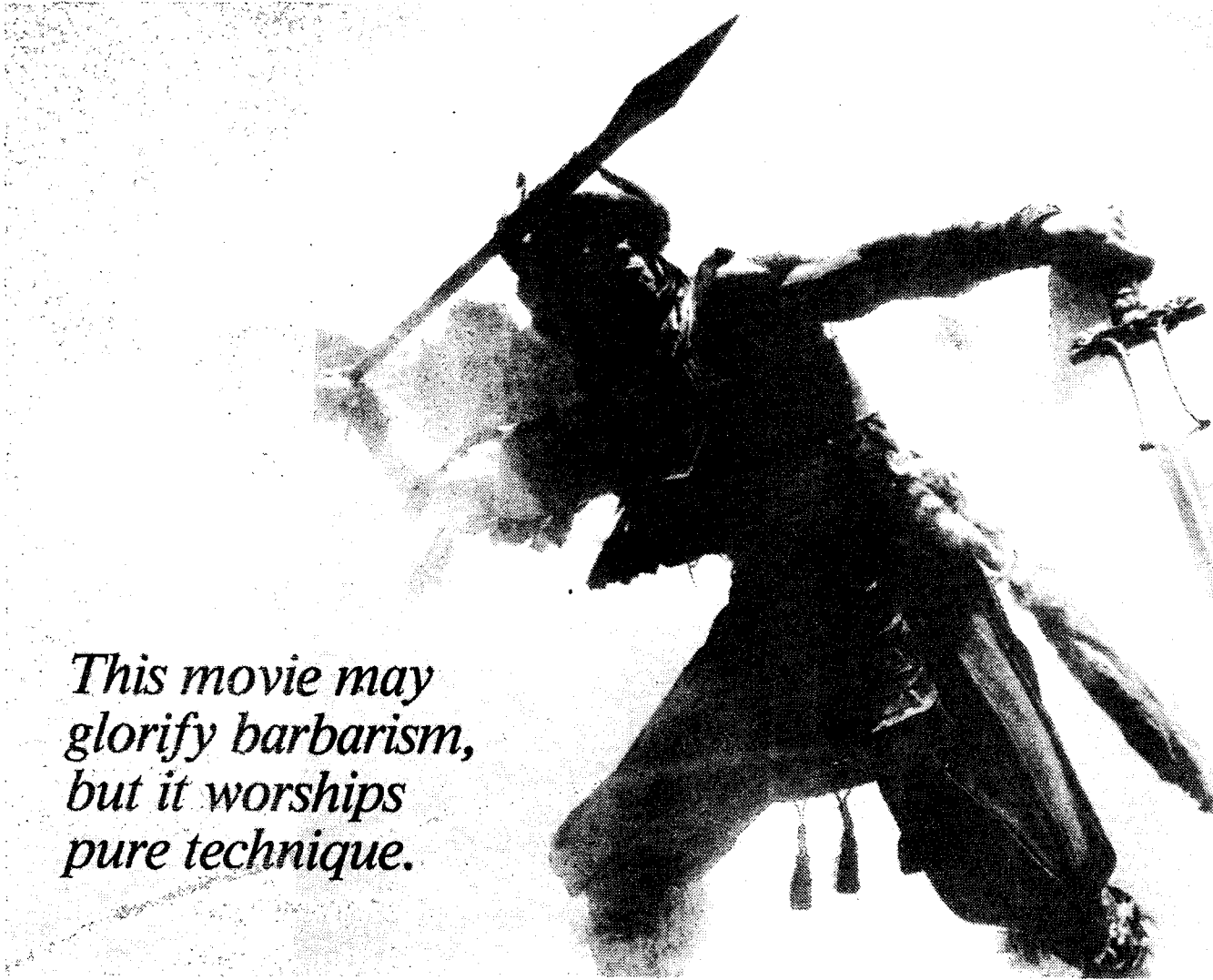
Because of Klein's failure to engage these issues directly, many Canadians misinterpreted *Not a Love Story* as pro-censorship. The Toronto *Globe and Mail* called the work "bourgeois feminist fascism." And with New York feminists breaking into two camps—those in support of sado-masochism and supporters of the anti-pornography movement Take Back the Night—this film is bound to heat up the already-overcharged controversy there.

The film leaves one with the memory of a few shocking images and many disparate segments. In the end its virtue lies in the reactions and debates it provokes, not in the film itself. ■

Patricia Erens is the editor of Sexual Stratagems: The World of Women in Film.

MOVIES

Mr. Machismo and the boys



This movie may glorify barbarism, but it worships pure technique.

Arnold Schwarzenegger is a living special effect as the barbarian.

By Pat Aufderheide

Conan the Barbarian, amply satisfying Universal Studios' happiest dreams for summer box office, is big and dumb. It's also entertaining, in an elephantine way.

What it isn't is offensive. Director and co-writer John Milius, self-dubbed "Zen Fascist," would be so pissed off if he knew.

The film stars Arnold Schwarzenegger, one of the world's best-known, best-developed narcissists. Young Conan belongs to a tribe that worships steel, emblematic of brute force. Cleverness triumphs temporarily—the tribe is wiped out by one with a more elaborate religious organization led by Thulsa Doom (James Earl Jones). Over the years, having enslaved Conan and toughened him up by making him a stud and fighter among still-barbarous steppes people, Doom uses a diabolical snake-cult to enslave hordes of decadent youth in the encroaching cities.

With a supremely athletic Nordic-looking girlfriend (Sandahl Bergman) and a Mongol sidekick (Gerry Lopez), Conan slogs through a series of physical adventures to revenge his parents' death and sets the city simsps free. The adventures are less thrilling than vicariously exhausting, and the special effects are less brilliant than ponderously impressive. There's a huge snake, a gigantic cult-temple (the biggest free-standing set ever, torched for the finale) and heavy-as-life broadswords. There's Conan's triumph over a deathly-seductive cat-woman and a fight with the gods for Conan's spirit after he has been pecked nearly to death on a crucifix (really).

The film does move along though, sometimes muddily and sometimes funny. If *Personal*

Best drove you to the Y with new resolve, *Conan* will take you straight to the local tap to recover from your exertions.

Milius has built a reputation in Hollywood as the thuggish dark side of the all-American macho that George Lucas and Steven Spielberg act out with charm. His script for *Jeremiah Johnson*, for instance, had large quantities of brutal and sometimes anti-Indian gore (director

humored as the surfer representative among the "Movie Brat" boys who came out of film school and screening rooms into the studios in the '70s.

Artist Ron Cobb, a key designer for *Conan* who has worked in the alternative press, put Milius' political posturing this way in *American Film*: "If you can't see through it, you deserve to believe it all."

Still, sometimes you get the

through outsize repetition.

But what we have in *Conan* is probably more familiar—an exercise in male adolescent fantasy, a heroic world that provides nothing more than temporary relief from the boredom of everyday adult responsibility—without pretending to alter that tedious reality. That attitude may register social distress, but it's a different problem from the one Milius pre-



James Earl Jones plays the over-civilized cult-schemer.

Sydney Pollack struck it out). Milius wrote into *Dirty Harry*—without script credit—its final violent touches. His original script for *Apocalypse Now* was too pro-war for his old friend Francis Coppola to stomach.

But it's not so much what he has done as his pronouncements that give him his cachet. The man has found his hype, and declares that for the media "I'm the Hermann Goering of my generation."

Well, maybe. It's true, *Esquire* dubbed him "Mr. Macho," and his pique-the-liberal remarks such as, "There's something unspeakably attractive about war" get freely quoted. But mostly Milius gets

feeling that Milius wants to be taken seriously—like at the beginning of *Conan*, where we are treated to a little snippet from Nietzsche: "Whatever does not kill you makes you strong." (If you have another attribution for this statement, don't be surprised—it's become apocryphal.)

Milius' claims to a nativist fascism are upheld in certain aspects of *Conan* as well. He might even have studied Susan Sontag's essay "Fascinating Fascism," where she defines fascist aesthetics as preoccupied with dominance and submission, extravagant effort and the endurance of pain, an art in which people turn into things and things become grandiose

tends to pose with his raunchy celebration of rudeness.

Thrill technicians.

Conan ought to be socially and politically offensive. Milius certainly had good material, in the twisted and turgid writings of Robert E. Howard. (The creator of the *Conan* book series was a pulp writer from a small Texas town who lived with his mother and his fantasies, rarely even leaving the house until he blew his brains out at the age of 30 when she died.)

The movie, though, lacks Howard's malevolent passion. This is not a movie about good and evil, or men and women, or civilization and barbarism. It's

about technique, from the moment we learn that the central myth of Conan's tribe is the celebration of tempered metal.

Take the question of the film's violence. *Conan* must set some sort of record for deaths by direct combat—beheadings, splatting, thumping and gorings. But you stand in more danger of being deafened by the clanging of broadswords than you do of being sickened (or appalled or entranced, depending on your taste) by the violence.

The fighting isn't really a violent form of interaction between people—something that might give you a stake in the loss of limb and life—but the mere execution of tricky maneuvers. That's why Schwarzenegger is perfect for the role but also works against the movie as a movie. His singleminded love-affair with his own abilities lends him a certain dependable sweetness, here as in *Pumping Iron*, at the same time that it robs the audience of any lingering chance of getting involved with the characters. The special effects—and Schwarzenegger is himself such a walking effect that the screen can seem empty of human life at times—have the same advantages and drawbacks. They divert and impress. They provide action. They just don't create human drama.

The film's stress on male heroics could offend more if Bergman (a trained athlete and dancer) and Schwarzenegger were not on terms of rough equality. They are both supremely well-defined bodies in mechanized play—the Barbie and Ken of Conanland, not a Valkyrie and *Übermensch*.

Oddly, it may be the "good guys" among the movie brats who have the ideological impact that Milius seems so hungry for. Traditionalist assumptions are more deeply imbedded in their entertainment. For instance, Lucas' *Star Wars* movies construct a good guy-bad guy world of empires in collision that has disturbing parallels to the way '50s kids learned to think about the Cold War. Casting James Earl Jones as Darth Vader made a much subtler connection between black imagery, black people and evil than the gaudy Thulsa Doom character does.

The audience has been steam-rollered—left without a moment to consider the implications or assumptions of the action—more effectively in other films from the same generation of filmmakers. *Raiders of the Lost Ark*, like *Conan*, used pop culture clichés and dazzled the audience with special effects. But *Raiders* is a fast train to fun—it assaults you with thrills. *Conan's* clumsiness instead makes for ironic distance.

Spielberg's summer releases, *E.T.* and *Poltergeist*, make a much more seductive case for the flight from adulthood than *Conan* does. In both films sober adults—not the aliens—are the real enemy, and childhood is romanticized. "I'm still a kid," Spielberg told the *New York Times*. "I'm still waiting to get out of my Peter Pan shoes and into my loafers...I'm probably socially irresponsible and way down deep I don't want to look the world in the eye."

Lucas and Spielberg, with movies that cast middle-American macho, frozen in adolescence, as normal healthy fun may be more potent ideologues for a willful American innocence than Milius, who exercises his doctrines of social irresponsibility in grotesque fantasy. ■

FREEZE

Continued from page 13

the troops were already there, waiting if not active, veterans of church social action groups, antiwar protests, draft resistance, protests against nuclear power and other causes.

It is hard to say what all 800,000 would have agreed on, but they seemed anxious to move beyond the freeze toward dramatic reduction and eventually abolition of nuclear weapons as well as drastic reductions in military spending. Nearly all, but especially the black, Hispanic and labor marchers, stressed shifting military funds to peaceful, civilian needs. Few had any illusions about the Soviet missiles as "peace weapons," but they were all ready to press the U.S. government to take bold initiatives to halt the arms race that it has led.

"Cut Nuclear Weapons, Not Health Care," read placards from District 1199, representing hospital workers. "Rebuild America/Destroy Nuclear Weapons," read a Machinist banner. But the dominant theme in the signs was the threat of war, especially nuclear war, and the tone ranged from angry to plaintive, thought-provoking to ironic: "No Nukes—We Want Our Children to Grow, Not Glow"; "Students Against Militarism"; "Dancing for Disarmament"; "Take the Toys Away from the Boys"; or—carried on the side of a large, inflated blue whale—"Save the Humans."

The whole idea of nuclear war is so ludicrous and insane that many people were inspired to ridicule, mockery and a gallows humor. One kazoo-accompanied band sang the "Duck and Cover" song, a '50s-era ditty performed by Bert the Turtle in a civil defense movie for school kids in which Bert tells young Johnny how to jump off his bicycle and get into a kneeling position against the street curb with his hands over his head if the A-bomb exploded. Others mocked civil defense with paper Citizens Survival Bags perched on their heads. Then there was the Ground Zero Club.

In two years, John Breitbart, 29, a production manager and fabric cutter at a factory in Brooklyn, has pulled together several hundred club members for occasional social mixers—or MX'ers—and demonstrations. The idea is that there is no escape from the bomb, and even if there were, the survivors would envy the dead. So in the event of nuclear war, don't flee the city; rush to ground zero. The New York Ground Zero Club made its point earlier this year with a die-in at Fifth Avenue and 34th Street, Manhattan ground zero.

But despite the festive spirit, the touches of comedy, and the ebullient hopes, there was a literal life-and-death earnestness shared by a spectacular diversity of human beings. A retired Ames, Iowa, couple carried a sign, "Save Farms/Disarm." A schoolteacher from Nagasaki displayed samples of roof tiles students had recently excavated showing the blisters formed on the ceramic from the intense heat of the bomb. A group of several dozen yellow-robed Buddhist monks from Japan stood out boldly at all the week's events, beating on their paddle-like drums, carrying their purple prayer flags, chanting "praise to the mystery of all creation" and communicating an awesome, spinetingling statement with their presence. The power of their message was doubled by seeing among them, smiling from his wheelchair, their 98-year-old abbot, the Most Venerable Nichitatsu Fujii. (Some people were not so moved, however. A U.S. official at the UN muttered as he passed the monks chanting in the Ralph J. Bunche peace park, "Won't those shits go away from here? They're a goddamn nuisance.")

There were two brothers from New York's fire department, walking with their 75-year-old father who brought them up on Jack London writings so they'd be class-conscious. ("The one fire we can't put out is an atomic blast," Thomas Gates said.)

There was Parthenia Wilkerson, 63, a retired black hospital worker from New York who wanted Reagan "to take the money he's going to spend on arms and spend it on the unemployed, schools and the elderly."

There was Mike Lyczak, 30, who traveled from Chicago with five fellow electrical workers: "If you got a choice between helping the world for the better or sitting around on a Saturday night drinking beer, what do you do? After all, it's our butts that get fired."

Religious organizations probably contributed more than any to the diversity of the march. On Friday before the big demonstration, an impressively ecumenical gathering of religious leaders—Catholics, Protestants, Muslims, Sikhs, Buddhists, Hindus, Jews, Native Americans, Society of Friends—conducted a stirring service for 10,000 in the huge Cathedral of St. John the Divine that evoked a spirituality broad enough for not only all religious but also the non-religious. The particular rationales varied, but the conclusion was the same.

Bob Menard, an engineering student from Blacksburg, Va., was there because "I've felt frustrated at our government using money for arms as opposed to social needs. I felt I had to do something about it. We're talking about survivability of humankind. Electrical engineering and physics are great—and I'm in awe of them—but we could annihilate everything on earth."

Like so many others, Menard was also moved by a sense of fragility of peace demonstrated by the wars in Lebanon and the Falklands. But it was the emergence of a protest movement in the past couple of years and particularly the leadership from his Catholic bishop that gave him courage to act on what he'd been thinking for years.

"When I started thinking this way, I felt pretty much alone," he said. "So I've been very much encouraged by the demonstrations over the last year and by the bishop in my area speaking out. I don't feel like some sort of weirdo out in left field, when people like that speak out. I'm not crazy."

Corky Peavy, 25, said he would have been in favor of "nuking" Vietnam during the American war there. Now an electronics technician in Austin, Texas, he spends part of his spare time trying to raise money to support nuclear weapons assemblers who quit their jobs at the Pantex plant in Amarillo ("where the end of the world begins").

"My entire reason for being in the peace movement is because I'm a Christian and Christ was clear on peace," Peavy said. About five years ago, he found Jesus through a small fundamentalist evangelical church in Austin. Reading the Bible he not only came to oppose militarism but also to conclude that "if it weren't for economic injustice in the world, then there wouldn't be an arms race. The nuclear issue is secondary to the economic issue." But Peavy doesn't find much support from his fellow believers: "The church I attend doesn't agree with anything I believe on this issue," he says. "It's a burden."

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Such deep convictions from the heartland of America are making disarmament a potent political issue in this election year. Although there is still resistance from some quarters of the peace movement to involvement in electoral politics, there is a growing sentiment that politicians running this year must be submitted to some "peace test." Groups such as SANE or Council for a Liveable World are endorsing candidates and raising funds in key races. But there is another strain within the peace movement that calls for "escalation of tactics," such as more civil disobedience on the order of the "blockade the bombmakers" action on the morning of June 14, which resulted in 1,548 orderly arrests of sit-down demonstrators at the UN missions of the five nuclear powers. One week later, 1,332 sit-in demonstrators at the Livermore Laboratories in California—birthplace of the neutron bomb—were arrested in another large-scale civil disobedience action.

Political dynamite.

The protests over the past year have already wrought results. Four years ago, Arms Control Association president Herbert Scoville says, Jimmy Carter did not appear before the UN disarmament sessions "because it would be political dynamite if he did. Reagan felt it would be political dynamite if he didn't."

Although some fear that Reagan will "co-opt" the disarmament movement, the people who were demonstrating on June 12 distrust Reagan and have goals for disarmament that go far beyond what he is likely to propose. They will not take "the Soviet threat" as an excuse for backpedaling.

At this point, the disarmament movement could consolidate a powerful majority political force, but as rally organizer Patrick Lacefield argues, "there is no moral center in the U.S. peace movement and no operational center. Anyone with \$25,000, enough advance planning and a rally site can lead the peace movement." The weaknesses—the lack of central coordination and of clearly worked out demands or focus—can also be seen as a strength of the movement: It is diverse and has tremendous grassroots organizational vitality.

The infighting within the coalition was so incessant that for once the organizers of a demonstration are not trying to perpetuate themselves in a new organization. Yet the tensions of the coalition persist in the peace movement. Some individuals, including those with links to the Communist Party, want to focus on the U.S. alone, excluding criticism of the Soviet Union, whereas the majority are critical of all nuclear or heavily armed governments. There is also a continuing division over how many issues to include. Some groups seek to make the peace movement the vehicle for all worthy causes and others recognize the strategic importance of

a specific focus.

Inevitably disarmament forces will head off in many directions. Sidney Peck, who worked as liaison with international groups for the rally, predicts a continuation of the freeze campaign, an expansion of the new Jobs With Peace referendum (asking cities to go on record in favor of increasing employment through civilian rather than military spending), declarations of cities and states as nuclear free zones, increases in both electoral and civil disobedience activity and more demonstrations, at first local then probably culminating next spring or fall in Washington.

Citizens Party leader Barry Commoner argues for a peace test for politicians (are they for the freeze, ending civil defense, real disarmament and sharp cuts in the military budget), and for the withdrawal of cities from the civil defense program. Already various cities, from Boulder, Colo., and Cambridge, Mass., to Philadelphia and New York have pulled out. "The one part of the military program we have some control over is civil defense," Commoner argues. "The Pentagon can launch missiles but they can't launch an evacuation. Withdrawal from civil defense is real—more real than the freeze."

The unions, as well as the churches, may help to keep the fragile coalition together. Organized labor played a more important role than in any peace demonstration of recent decades, and strongly encouraged coalition work, Peck says. Going well beyond the official AFL-CIO position on disarmament, the biggest unions in the federation (UAW, AFSCME, public workers, Food and Commercial Workers, Machinists) co-sponsored the rally, with vigorous support locally from District 1199 and the Clothing and Textile Workers. However, the uneven efforts to turn out members depended on the personal commitment of key staff officers, in the absence of massive institutional support. But the presence of even a few unions, argued Dutch disarmament leader Wim Bartels, gave the New York rally more of an air of connection with social institutions and issues than the European marches, which tend to mobilize people more as individual concerned citizens.

The potential if a real coalition developed is staggering: Imagine the political force represented by the June 12 rally and by last year's Solidarity Day linked together.

Inevitably, in confronting whether or not the earth has a future, the fate of children, the innocent victims of adult folly, crops up. Nancy Winkler, 25, one of the rally flock, works with five-year-olds in Boston. Last year she asked them to draw pictures of peace and war. The results shocked her: "They all knew how to draw war—buildings exploding—but they had no idea of what to draw when you said 'peace'."

Continued on facing page

CALENDAR

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NEW YORK, NY

June 28-July 30

America, as seen through the eyes of French photo-journalist Lionel Delevigne (a frequent contributor to *In These Times*) will be on view at the Gallery of the French Institute/Alliance Francaise, 22 E. 60th St., in an exhibit of 74 black and white photographs. "Glory, Glory," at the French Institute/Alliance Francaise, is divided into three themes—the parades and civic events that show "America in her Glory," the social protests that work under the same flag to make this America a better place, and portraits of people famous and unknown, participants and spectators, young, old, Indian, Spanish, black and white. Call (212)355-6100 for more information.

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July 9-18

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CHICAGO, IL

August 6-8

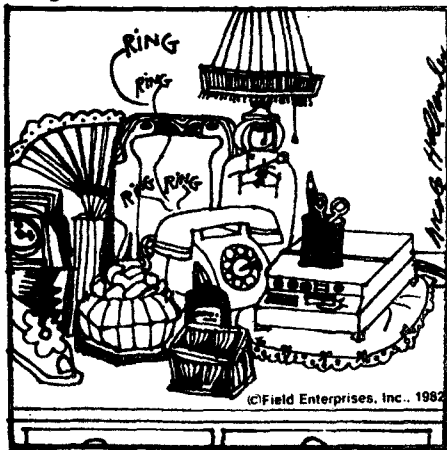
No more Hiroshimas, end the arms race, save the human race. Big memorial weekend now planned for August 6-8, including tag day, vigils, religious services, memorial rally. If your organization has plans and wants to participate, call (312)663-0879 or 0918.

But young people are not simply objects of solicitude by adults. There are at least two organizations—Future Generations and Children's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament—formed by children to act on their own behalf. A couple of years ago, Nessa and Hanna Rabin, now 13 and 16, got together with some friends in Vermont to form the Children's Campaign. They began collecting letters to President Reagan—now numbering nearly 3,000—asking for an end to nuclear weapons.

Nobody in the White House would meet with them when they first went to Washington. "I think President Reagan doesn't know what to say to us," Hannah commented. It is our future he's making decisions about. Maybe he doesn't want to realize that."

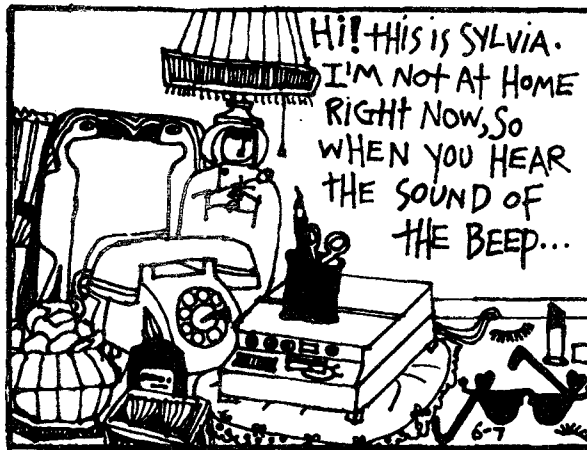
Children realize far more about war than we often imagine—far more than they should have to confront. At an art exhibit in conjunction with the rally, there

Sylvia



was a collection of drawings by kids from the South Bronx about nuclear war. Here are a few of their titles:

- I'm shaking until blood comes out everywhere. Eddie Barrett.
- My guts squish out of my stomach



right through my new T-shirt. I try to hold them in. Malloy Nesmith.

- I look at my arms. My skin burned off. Felix Cepera.
- All the burned-out buildings glow. Bleeding people glow, too. Kelvin Rob-



- My uncles turn into monsters. Juan Soto.
 - It's helpless. Michael Gonzalez.
- That's enough to make some adults want to protest.

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By Lester Rodney

RECOLLECTIONS OF LEROY "SATCHEL" Paige, who died in early June, portrayed a gently philosophical man with a droll sense of humor and little rancor in him. He was that. But the characterization is incomplete, and it lets America off the hook a little easy for its sins.

In the long years when baseball players with dark skin were barred from our "national pastime," Satchel Paige, who knew exactly how good he was, did not shrug off racism with a philosophical quip. In September 1937, I chatted with the 30-year-old Paige in Harlem's old Hotel Olga. In those days, after the big league season ended Satch would round up a team of black ball stars and play a team of white big leaguers in exhibition games on the Pacific coasts. In years of trying, the big leaguers never beat Paige.

The young Joe DiMaggio once said, "When I hit a double off Paige, I knew I was ready for the big leagues." Fear-some veteran hitters such as Rogers Hornsby, Babe Herman and Charley Gehringer had no better luck.

That day in Harlem, the thin-faced Paige, long legs dangling over the edge of his bed, said, "Let the winners of the World Series play us just one game in Yankee Stadium. If we don't beat them, and if it isn't a full house, they don't have to pay us."

He threw out two more challenges to American sportsmanship. He would go to any big league team's training camp the following spring at his own expense, and if he didn't prove conclusively that he belonged, he would forget the whole thing. Also, he said, "Let there be a vote by everybody going into big league games, yes or no, if they want us in baseball or not." He believed the fans' vote would be yes by a margin of 100 to one.

Remember that the man who said these things in the very prime of his athletic life had to wait 11 more years before he was allowed to pitch in the big leagues and you may have the edge of an inkling of

what being Satchel Paige was about, besides the funny proverbs.

Paige's dares were not accepted. They were not even reported by the other New York daily newspapers—which undoubtedly wrote eloquent obituary tributes to him this June.

The best example.

How good was Satchel Paige really? Nobody can say for sure. One can only conjecture how he would have changed baseball history, the record books and pitching standards. Hall of Famer Dizzy Dean's cheerful admission that he never was or would be in Satch's class is fairly well-known. Those who ask Casey Stengel got a convoluted reply, which boiled down to having seen Paige in the early '30s strike out 15 or more of the better big league hitters every darn time in the west coast exhibitions, "so that should give you some idea." Paige himself estimated he could have won from 30 to 35 games every season for at least 15 years. In 1939, Bill McKechnie, veteran manager of the Cincinnati Reds, said, "You have to rate him up there with Crispy Mathewson and Walter Johnson." There were none better in baseball history.

Paige did share one unusual trait with Walter Johnson. Possessive of the most formidable fast balls of their times, both

scorned intimidation of batters through fear, and went years without ever hitting a batter with a pitch.

Another not-too-well-known aspect of Paige was his willingness and ability to teach his craft. After Yankee pitcher John Larsen made baseball history with a perfect game in the 1956 World Series, he told a reporter from the Pittsburgh Courier, a black weekly, that it was Satch who showed him how. When Larsen reported to the St. Louis Browns as a rookie in 1953, Paige told him he could

be one of the best if he worked on it. "You got to bury that curve ball, kid," he used to say, Larsen recalled. "And he'd show me how. In the perfect game I kept reminding myself of how Satch told me it had to be done."

During his years outside the pale-faced leagues Paige derived some satisfaction from his drawing power, unassisted by big-time publicity. One Sunday in 1941 he brought his black all-stars into Chicago for a single game against a pick-up team led by Dizzy Dean, who was then out of the big leagues. On the same day the Chicago White Sox hosted a regular American League double-header against the Detroit Tigers. The Paige game drew an overflow crowd of 55,000 into Wrigley Field. The White Sox-Tiger double-header drew 22,000 at Comiskey Park.

As an overaged "rookie" joining Cleveland in mid-season in 1948, Paige rewarded magnate Bill Veeck with a 6-1 record, including two shutouts, helping the Indians win it all. The year before, Veeck had made the important move of hiring Larry Doby, the big league's second black player, and the American League's first. It was no secret that some of his fellow magnates were hoping to seal off the introduction of blacks with Jackie Robinson and the other league. "Some people may give me hell," Veeck said, "but I'm working on the assumption that the war advanced our ideas a little." (Veeck lost the lower part of his left leg at Bougainville.)

It was of course great and better than nothing that Paige, at whatever age, finally pitched in the big leagues. But deep down the Satchel Paige story is one of tragic waste.

During that 1937 interview in Harlem, I reminded him that Dazzy Vance, one of the all-time great pitchers, first emerged as a winner with Brooklyn at age 31 and his peak at 34.

"Hope I hit my peak at 34," Paige said. "I don't think they can keep us out that long."

Lester Rodney is the ex-sports writer for the Daily Worker.



The
& best

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blackest

Satchel Paige's quips can't hide the scandal of big league racism.